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Fig. 1. JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE, La Femme à l'Ombrelle New York, Art Market

## JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE—THE BEGINNINGS OF IMPRESSIONISM

1862-1870

By ERNST SCHEYER

MPRESSIONISM was certainly not the sudden explosive revelation of one individual genius; it was far even from being a new technique of painting.¹ One needs only to study the formative years of the group to clarify the evolution of Impressionism, its attitude towards tradition, its degree of novelty. For that the little known letters by the painter Jean Frédéric Bazille to his parents and friends are our best literary source.² The recent appearance of a few of his paintings in American collections gives the author a welcome opportunity to introduce to the English-speaking public a painter who is (chiefly because of his early death in the battle of Beaune-la-Rolande in 1870) still the "forgotten man" among the Impressionist avant-garde; the group of Monet, Renoir, Sisley and Bazille who met in Gleyre's studio at Paris in 1862.

If there was a common trait from the very beginning in the work of these painters, it was a firm belief in *actualité*, which means the right and the duty of the modern painter to paint the life and to express the ideas of his own time.

Their choice of Gleyre as a teacher is in no way indicative of their later work. They were not looking for guidance but for a large studio, well heated in winter, which furnished them with the necessary models.<sup>3</sup> The atelier had a half academic standing in the Parisian art world and a great tradition. Gleyre, the head of the studio, was the successor of his master Delaroche after the latter's trip to Italy in 1844 and it should not be forgotten that Delaroche, as "the chor-leader of the historical school" (H. Heine), held in the thirties a position in French official art life rivaled only by that of his pupil Couture in the next decade.

At the beginning of the sixties, when the Impressionist avant-garde met there, Gleyre had run his studio for more than fifteen years and his eyesight, severely imperiled by a sickness contracted in the Orient, had begun to fail. And these young firebrands, all about twenty years old when they came to his studio, had already tried various other professions and as painters had undergone other artistic influences.

Monet, who soon acquired leadership among the friends, came from the North of France and had his early decisive art education in Normandy, a region which was subject to English "Romantic-realistic" influences, especially to that of the landscapists in watercolor. Bazille, his most intimate friend in the Gleyre studio, came from the South and had the southern classical tradition, so to speak, in his blood. He was born December 6, 1841, in Montpellier, the son of a very well-to-do wine-grower. This later earned him the nickname "Caisse" or "Raisin," as the impecunious young Renoir called him mockingly in his letters. The Bazille family was closely connected with the eminent art patron and collector, Alfred Bruyas, who was one of the first to form a large private collection of contemporary French painting, including works by Ingres, Géricault, Delacroix, Corot, Millet, Diaz, and no less than thirteen large paintings by his favorite and protégé Courbet.

In 1854 Courbet had paid a long visit to Bruyas' house in Montpellier. The first personal meeting of Maecenas and artist on that occasion was commemorated by the famous Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet, one of the first large paintings in nineteenth century art to bring out the peculiar aridity as well as the crystalline character of the Provençal landscape. Courbet must have been one of the strongest artistic impressions during Bazille's boyhood days. He took drawing lessons with the sculptor Baussan in Montpellier. But it is uncertain whether that must be taken as proof of early talent or merely as part of the education of a young man of distinguished family. At the famous university of his native town, Bazille studied medicine for three years, and in the winter of 1862 went to Paris to continue his studies, obeying the wishes of his family. As a student of medicine he began his work in the studio Gleyre. But his interest in art soon outranked his interest in the sciences.

The first friends whom Bazille mentions, four or five months after his entrance at the beginning of the year 1863, are "le vicomte Lepic, fils de l'aide de camp de l'Empereur," and Claude Monet. "Ce jeune homme et un autre, du Hâvre, nommé Monet . . . sont mes meilleurs camarades parmi les rapins (painter's apprentices) . . ."

In a letter written a short time later he names besides Monet, Louis Emile Villa from Montpellier, a former pupil of Courbet, as his intimate friend among the Gleyre pupils:

Villa et Monet sont les seuls élèves de mon atelier que je fréquente assidûment; ils m'aiment beaucoup et je le leur rends, car ce sont des charmants garçons. Monet m' a déjà invité à aller passer quelques jours dans sa famille au Hâvre au printemps prochain.

This plan materialized in the summer of the following year after the influence of Villa (to whom as an artist Monet was apparently opposed<sup>8</sup>) had weakened.

Yet in these last months of 1863 and probably during the first of 1864 we find Bazille sharing his first studio with Villa: "Le propriétaire nous a accordé un petit bout de jardin qui contient un pêcher et quelques lilas; il nous sera bien agréable en été pour peindre des figures en soleil."

The atelier Gleyre is thus by no means so opposed to *plein air*. We conclude this also from the advice given by Gleyre to Bazille, Renoir, and Monet to work

outside of his studio in order to make real progress.9

There is, however, one thing one wonders greatly about in Bazille's correspondence of the year 1863; the complete omission of the name Edouard Manet. This year was one of the turning points in the history of French painting, the year of the Salon des Refusés, the year of the Déjeuner sur l'Herbe and one of the greatest scandals in Parisian art life. But we read in Bazille's letters during the winter of 1863-64 only about the portrait of the Emperor by Flandrin and the African pictures by Fromentin in the exhibition of the Beaux Arts which Bazille believes to be "les plus belles oeuvres de l'année." On the other hand, all sources agree that Manet's exhibit at the Gallery Martinet, Boulevard des Italiens, which opened the first of March, two and a half months before the Salon des Refusés, was visited by Monet and Renoir and was kind of an artistic Damascus for these two painters. 10 Was Bazille at that time still too conservative to share his colleagues' enthusiasm? We have no proof, neither a passage in a letter nor a painting to decide the question. But the early work of Monet and Renoir from 1863-64 reveals likewise no immediate effect of the great realist's high-keyed palette with colors often lighter than those in nature and of his composition, monumental in spite of a certain decorative flatness. These works of Bazille's more experienced painter friends show definitely the influence of the Barbizon School and of Courbet. 11

The outstanding event of the year 1864 for the four friends, Monet, Renoir, Sisley, and Bazille, was their stay at Chailly in the forest of Fontainebleau at Easter where they worked in close contact with the Barbizon painters and, of course, in the open air. Among the four, Renoir seems to have had the closest contact with Diaz, whose palette was the least gallery-tone-brown among the Barbizon painters, and whose brush stroke had something of the touch and the scintillating glow of the Venetians. Bazille apparently received his Barbizon influence at second hand through Monet: "J'étais avec mon ami Monet qui est assez fort en paysage; il m'a donné des conseils qui m'ont beaucoup aidé."

Returning to Paris the friends found the atelier Gleyre threatened with final closing. There was no money to pay models and Gleyre was menaced by the

loss of his eyesight. Bazille has given us a record of the attitude of the students toward these events which differs completely from the usual opinion that the four artists (or at least Monet and Renoir) had left the studio in the spirit of revolt or contempt: "Tous ses élèves en sont fort affligés, car il est fort aimé de tous ceux qui l'approchent."

None of the four friends selected another master. They relied on their own strength and on the inspiration offered by the "moderns", that is the Barbizon painters and Courbet and Manet. Spirits were buoyant! Now finally we read in Bazille's letters of Manet's art. Bazille and Monet saw together Manet's pictures<sup>13</sup>, and he wrote enthusiastically to his parents: "Vous ne sauriez croire combien j'apprends en regardant ces tableaux: Une seule de ces séances vaut un mois de travail."

His enthusiasm for art stands in marked contrast to his failure as a student of medicine. Having failed in the examinations for the first time he is afraid of the second. In that situation Monet's invitation to visit him and his family in Sainte-Adresse near Hâvre, extended to him as mentioned, in the previous year, was very welcome. He left Paris with Monet, visiting Rouen on the way where he noted an "admirable tableau de Delacroix" in the Museum (*The Justice of Trajan*, 1840) and spent a delightful time with the Monet family. He wrote: "J'ai déjeuné dans la famille de Monet; ce sont de charmantes gens. Ils possèdent à Sainte-Adresse, près du Hâvre une charmante propriété, où l'on vit tout a fait comme à Méric." <sup>14</sup>

In Honfleur, another resort near Hâvre, Bazille was introduced to Boudin by Monet, who had known this pioneer of modern landscape painting since his child prodigy years, when the two had exhibited together. Bazille became part of a circle of painters and the idea of returning to Paris to devote himself to "cette affreuse médecine" haunted him like a nightmare, while he set great hopes upon a successful career as an artist. "J'espère être content de moi dans trois ou quatre ans de peinture." Yet the sense of duty and obligation towards his family was strong in him. Previous to his trip to Honfleur he had submitted himself to the ordeal of another examination, heard that he had failed a second time and received now his family's permission to abandon medicine and to become a professional artist. Probably to demonstrate the seriousness of his decisions he returned to Paris, worked from the nude model and did still lifes while Monet tried to lure him back to Honfleur: "Nous sommes en grand nombre en ce moment à Honfleur . . . Boudin et Jongkind sont là; nous nous entendons à merveille."

The friendship of the two grew steadily closer and it seems as though Bazille tried to help Monet in his financial affairs. In spite of his good bourgeois background the latter was often in straitened circumstances. It was chiefly for that reason that, at the beginning of the season, Bazille shared with Monet his new atelier in the rue Furstenberg near the Ecole des Beaux Arts. Then and later it was always "Raisin" who footed the bill for the rent and opened his studio to his friends as an *infirmerie*.

Bazille on the other hand was no bohémien. As a man of the world he frequented the salon of Madame Lejosne, wife of the "commandant et aide de camp du Maréchal Magnan et allié de la famille Bazille." The salon was an earlier rival of that of Madame Charpentier, the patroness of Renoir, and was of a similar character. Politicians like Gambetta met there men of the arts, such poets and writers as Baudelaire and Barbey d'Aurevilly, composers like Le Maître<sup>15</sup> who became a close friend of Bazille and Renoir, Nadar the cartoonist, photographer and balloonist, Fantin-Latour and finally Edouard Manet.

C'est également là, qu'ils font la connaissance de Manet, qui vint quelquefois rue Furstenberg, où frequent à cette époque, outre Renoir et Sisley, Pissarro, qui devait dire longtemps après la mort de Bazille: il était un des plus doués parmi nous, Alfred Stevens, Fantin et quelquefois Cézanne. 16

This passage in Poulain's book fixes the earliest date for the young artists' contact with Manet in the winter months of 1865 and mentions as their earliest gathering places, the Salon Lejosne and Bazille's studio in the rue Furstenberg, before the meetings started at the Café Guerbois in 1866.<sup>17</sup>

Bazille, probably in order to commemorate these gatherings, painted the first of his atelier pictures, L'Atelier de la rue Furstenberg, continuing a tradition which Courbet had started ten years earlier in 1855 and which Fantin just at that time had developed into a specialty. The picture, now in the collection of Madame Seynier de Salinelle, née Bazille, is described by Poulain as detailed and intimate "dans une manière sombre."

It is from this year 1865 that the first paintings by Bazille have been preserved. Poulain mentions Les deux dessus de porte and Nu couché, and as the outstanding characteristics a "vérisme qui l'empêche de se livrer à l'orgie de couleurs." From the same year is a Ruth and Booz, inspired by Victor Hugo's poem, representing two figures in an arid landscape "accentué par la pâleur des rayons qui trainent sur Booz", from the description still a pretty melodramatic thing in the taste of the figure painters of the Barbizon school. It is interesting, however, that Bazille's earliest known paintings show emphasis on figures rather than landscape.

The turn to landscape was brought about by a second stay in Chailly with Claude Monet. This latter artist began there in April, 1865, his large painting Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 18 which he finished in 1866. It is certainly a tribute to Edouard Manet, an attempt to blend the light colors and the well-studied casualness of this master's scenes with Courbet's solid sculptural form. Monet asked Bazille's assistance in posing for two of the figures in the picture. Bazille is the tall gentleman in shirtsleeves in the foreground and the man in the gray jacket and gray chapeau canotier in the centre of the background. Although Bazille explained this second stay in Chailly as "uniquement pour rendre service à Monet" the time spent there was important in many respects. Bazille not only met Courbet, who was present while the Déjeuner was being painted, but the latter introduced the two friends also to Corot. Furthermore Bazille's L'Ambulance Improvisé, which shows Monet, who had injured his leg, in bed, and La Lisière en Forêt, both executed in Chailly, are lively in brush technique, especially the first mentioned.

Bazille brought this fresh outdoor spirit to Montpellier and during the summer in Méric painted his first important work programmatic of his later paintings, Jeune Fille dans un Parc (Paris, Louvre), for which his beautiful cousin Thérèse de Hours posed.<sup>19</sup> In these years it is the problem of full-size figures posed either in a landscape setting or in intimate interiors which stands out as the most important in the production of Monet, Bazille and Renoir.

In the following year, 1866, Bazille exhibited his first painting in the Salon. He sent in two: Une Jeune Fille joue le piano et un Jeune Homme l'écoute, and a still life, Les Poissons. The former, unfortunately lost, makes us familiar with a subject which Renoir later exploited. Bazille was extremely musical. A friend of musicians like Le Maître and a pianist himself, his interest ranged from Gluck and Beethoven to the Romanticists, Mendelsohn, Berlioz, Chopin and Wagner, whom he especially admired. Depicting musicians was a subject matter after his heart, which he explained to his parents in a manner as simple as it was indicative of the younger progressive painter generation:

J'ai choisi l'époque moderne parce que c'est elle que je comprends le mieux que je trouve plus vivante pour des gens vivants et voilà ce qui me fera refuser. Si j'avais paint des Grecques et des Romains, je serais bien tranquille, car nous en sommes encore la.

He was right, the jury refused the picture, which Courbet had admired—he praised the blond head of the woman—while they did accept his much more modest *Poissons*, a picture still painted with dark shadows. But for the group as a whole the Salon of 1866 was a success. Not only were all the four friends

represented, Monet with his outstanding success Camille (Bremen Gallery), but also Pissarro and Berthe Morisot who became later such loyal members of the Impressionists. At that time a name for the group had not been found. Then and later, up to 1874, the critics called them "Indépendents", "Intransigeants", "Actualistes", "Naturalistes" and "Réalistes". Against the latter label Zola wrote in his now famous Mon Salon: "Le mot réaliste ne signifie rien pour moi" and saw the outstanding features of the young painters in "an intense artistic subjectivism" in temperament and originality, while Courbet, according to Zola, once the matador of these tendencies "appears to have passed to the enemy". 21

The following year, 1867, brought severe setbacks and troubles for the young painters, especially for their leader Monet. His relations with his family became more and more difficult. His mistress Camille, whose picture had brought him recognition, expected a child.<sup>27</sup> Bazille tried in vain to straighten out things in a letter to Monet's father. In order to help his friend he bought for 2500 fr., in monthly payments of 50 fr., Monet's picture, Femmes au Jardin (Paris, Louvre), which had been refused by the Salon of this year.<sup>28</sup> But it would be wrong to assume that it was chiefly charity which led to the purchase. In no other picture did the two friends come so close to each other. It is indeed difficult to decide who was at that moment the giver, who the receiver. It is a picture gay with dignity, a restrained lightness in its colors, and a premeditated casualness in its excellent composition.

In addition to personal trouble came great professional disappointment. Official France, especially the jury of the Salon, launched a severe counter attack against the young painters. Their pictures were refused; Monet's above mentioned Femmes au Jardin, Renoir's very Courbet-like Diane Chasseresse (New York, Priv. Coll.), and Bazille shared their fate.<sup>24</sup> He wrote about it: "Je partage ce sort avec tout ce qu'il avait de bon au Salon cette année. On signe à ce moment une pétition pour demander une exposition des refusés."

Knowing beforehand that the petition would not be granted by the Emperor, Bazille planned a Salon Indépendent:

Nous avons donc résolu de louer chaque année un grand atelier où nous exposerons nos oeuvres en aussi grand nombre que nous le voudrons. Nous inviterons les peintres qui nous plaisent à envoyer des tableaux: Courbet, Corot, Diaz, Daubigny et beaucoup d'autres. Avec ces gens là et Monet, qui est plus fort qu'eux tous nous sommes sûrs de réussir. Vous verrez qu'on parlera de nous.

It was not until the year 1874, seven years later, in Nadar's studio, that such

an independent Salon was held and that time Bazille, the first to plan such a show, had been killed in battle and was not represented by any of his pictures.<sup>25</sup>

But to go back to the year 1867, it was not exclusively one of disappointments; on the contrary foundations were laid for future greatness. Bazille painted a series of portraits, a very "Gallery of Honor" of the future Impressionists: Sisley's portrait painted in the summer of 1867 in Honfleur (Paris, Priv.Coll.); Renoir's portrait (Cannes, Claude Renoir Coll.); and Monet's portrait (beg.1866,lost).<sup>26</sup>

The portrait of Renoir was probably painted while this artist shared Bazille's studio for a time. It is the first time in his letters to his family that

Bazille mentions his friendship with Renoir:

Je ne crois pas avoir encore dit que je donne l'hospitalité à un des amis, ancien élève de Gleyre, qui n'a pas d'atelier en ce moment. Renoir . . . est très travailleur, il profite de mes modèles et m'aide même en partie à les payer.

The year 1868 represents, with its successful Salon, the second climax in the struggle of the group for public recognition. It meant for Bazille not only praise from such artists as Zola, but it marked in that short period of activity

the beginning of his maturity, relatively speaking of course.

The Salon accepted his *Réunion de Famille*, a picture showing his parents, brother, sister-in-law, aunt, uncle, and cousins, on a garden terrace of their house in Méric, painted there chiefly during the summer of the preceding year. The picture, now in the Louvre, <sup>27</sup> is probably the most characteristic of Bazille's talent and its limitations. It reveals certainly aristocratic dignity but also a certain rigidity and solemn stiffness. The composition is too mathematically calculated, the still life of hat, bouquet and basket in the foreground, reminding one of that in Manet's *Déjeuner*, has too obviously the function of a prop and a gap-filler. One of the pencil sketches for the picture (Print Room, Louvre), <sup>28</sup> done on the spur of the moment, is not so dignified but is more lively and shows a more concentrated composition.

Introducing the picture and the painter to the French art world, Zola<sup>29</sup> wrote about Bazille's "vif amour de la vérité" as revealed in this "groupe charmant". Castagnary also included the picture in his revue and talking of the group as a whole,<sup>30</sup> is aware that a "radical revolution by content and form"<sup>31</sup> has taken place. Besides the two mentioned, all progressive critics including Zacharie Astruc and Thoré-Buerger agree also on Renoir's outstanding achievement; the portrait of his mistress *Liese* (Essen, Museum), comparable in its gay, carefree spirit with Monet's *Camille*. It was painted in 1867 in the forest of



Fig. 2. CLAUDE MONET, Argenteuil Chicago, Art Institute





Fig. 4. JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE, Scènes d'Eté Cambridge, The Fogg Museum of Art



Fig. 5. JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE, Atelier 9 rue la Condamine Paris, Louvre

Fontainebleau and hung in the show close to Bazille's *Family*. The problem of large figures conceived and painted largely in the open air is the same as in Bazille's picture, but it is better solved as to the connection between figure and landscape.

The year 1868 is for Renoir especially, that of the large figures, <sup>32</sup> among them *Bazille in the Studio* (Paris, Louvre). <sup>33</sup> All these oils stand stylistically between Courbet and Manet. But Renoir does not attempt Courbet's challenging directness nor does he reach Manet's detached monumentality; instead he captivates one with his warmth. The *Bazille* indeed conveys that feeling saturated with a mild melancholy. Meier-Graefe has written about this picture, <sup>34</sup> which he called "ein Denkmal der Freundschaft, von der Zartheit, die den Romantikern eigen war" so masterfully that we limit our remarks to the milieu in which it was painted. As guest in Bazille's studio, Renoir used it as a background for this painting. From the same time we have a description of that atelier by Bazille: "Monet avec une collection de toiles magnifiques couchera chez moi. Voilà avec Renoir deux peintres besogneux que je loge. C'est une véritable infirmerie, j'en suis enchanté."

Bazille in Renoir's picture is shown painting a still life which is now in the Museum in Montpellier under the title, *Héron et Geais*. The presence of Monet with his pictures in the Bazille studio explains another detail, the winter landscape on the wall behind Bazille's head is Monet's *Road at Honfleur in Winter*, not yet finished. 36

But in spite of their close friendship it was just about that time that the two friends developed as artists in different directions. A comparison of two paintings with a similar subject will prove that: Monet's Argenteuil (Fig. 2), and Bazille's Vue de Village (Fig. 3). Monet's picture shows a young woman (Camille?) in a striped dress, then so fashionable, on the bank of the River Seine. One might still discover something of Courbet's "straightforwardness". But the painting, with its dominating reflections in the water, is more than any other early Monet (with the exception of the Grenouillière painting of the same year) based on "impression" and in color is light, luminous and transparent throughout.

Bazille's picture was painted in the same summer of 1868, but in a very different manner. The comparison gives us an opportunity to define Bazille's place in the group and emphasizes more clearly by contrast Monet's arrival at the technique which gave its characteristic stamp to his own later work and to Impressionism as a whole. The subject and the composition are related, a young

woman, in a striped summer dress, seated under a tree. But in Bazille's picture it is the crystalline-clear, dry, sculptural landscape of the South; in Monet's picture it is the shimmery "pictorial" landscape of the Ile de France, dominated by the River Seine and enveloped in these silver-gray veils of atmosphere which was one of the incentives for the blossoming of the Impressionistic movement there. And it is these regional peculiarities which are, to a certain extent, the cause for the development of two totally different attitudes in modern French landscape painting. To keep that in mind helps not only to explain Bazille's relative conservatism but also Cézanne's more consistent and original deviation from Impressionism.

In Bazille's picture it is the figure which dominates the landscape with which it is connected by skillful composition, harmony of *valeurs*, <sup>38</sup> and chiefly by *sfumato*, in the way first explored in oil painting by Leonardo da Vinci.

Monet makes the figure subservient to the dominating features of sunlight, atmosphere and water. Indeed as L. Venturi has pointed out, <sup>39</sup> the reflections in the water modify the form of the woman. Her figure looks flat compared with the three-dimensional appearance of the Bazille girl, yet the result is a greater unity of the total effect. The strokes are much broader and "patchier" than in Bazille's picture but also thinner, more transparent; in other words the technique is no longer that of oil proper but adopts features from that of watercolor.

To return to Bazille's *Vue de Village*, the first idea for it came to him a few days before he left Paris for Méric. He wrote to his parents: "Il me tarde d'être au travail à Méric . . . j'aimerais aussi avoir un petit modèle de jeune fille avec une jolie figure et de jolies mains."

He chose the daughter of one of the farmers in Méric and let her pose in a pine wood which was situated at the border of the Bazille estate where one had a view on the Lez River and the houses of Castelau village, a situation which reminds one very strongly of Cézanne.

The picture's middle of the road character—although it was badly hung in the Salon of 1869—made it very much admired by artists of different camps, by the young and progressive, and by the old and academic. Berthe Morisot wrote in a letter of the first of May, 1869, to her sister Edna Pontillon: 40 "Le grand Bazille a fait une chose que je trouve fort bien. . . Il y a beaucoup de lumière, de soleil, il cherche ce que nous avons si souvent cherché; mettre une figure en plein air; cette fois il me parait avoir réussi."

Among the many compliments which Bazille received he seemed to have been especially pleased by those of Puvis de Chavannes. He wrote to his parents: "J'ai reçu quelques compliments qui m'ont beaucoup flattés, ceux de M. Puvis de Chavannes entre âutres."

The success gave Bazille "plaisir, c'est qu'il y a contre nous une véritable animosité" he wrote home, and continued: "Gérôme<sup>41</sup> nous a traité de bande de fous et déclaré qu'il croyait de son devoir de tout faire pour empêcher nos peintures de paraître."

In spite of his success and his connections with painters in the opposite camp, to which we should add Fromentin, we have definite proof that he had no leanings towards the academicians, though towards a certain conservatism. In a letter to one of his cousins, an art collector, he wrote:

J'admire autant que tout Delacroix. J'aime beaucoup Ingres, Corot, Millet, souvent Courbet; je me méfie des hommes comme Troyon. . . Pour mois Corot est le premier des paysagistes passés et présents et l'un des premiers peintres français. Il y a bien deux ou trois peintres jeunes et connus, seulement des jeunes gens, dont j'aime beaucoup le talent, mais je ne t'en parle pas, il sera toujours temps. Mais pour Dieu, n'achète pas de Cabanel. 42

This is an artistic confession. It harmonizes with other occasional remarks by Bazille and with his own work. It reveals his indebtedness to the founders of modern French art; to the Classicist Ingres as well as to the Romanticist Delacroix. It shows his love for Courbet although mixed with criticism for the later Courbet of the sixties. Millet's work was respectfully mentioned by him on earlier occasions and some of his own early works, Ruth and Booz for instance, seem to have been inspired by Millet's love for the peasant and by his deep religious feeling. Corot is apparently dearest to his heart. He loves him while he admires Delacroix. Corot's gentle, dreamy temperament and his respect for the French classical tradition must have appealed to Bazille's kindred character. So far we have not discovered a direct relation to Corot in Bazille's art. In one of his works in Mrs. Ralph H. Booth's collection (Fig. 6) discussed later, this relationship is quite obvious. Further, Bazille's Tireuse de Cartes of 1868 (Meynier de Salinelles Coll.), reminds one as much of Corot's virginal women by the classical simplicity of the head, as it points forward to the firm geometrical shape of Cézanne's portraits of his wife.

After their art in the Salon of 1868 had reached an early peak, the following year was a kind of creative intermission for the friends. Bazille hoped to surpass his success of the previous year, but his large picture Scènes d'Eté (Fig. 4), painted in 1869 and exhibited in the Salon of 1870, did not fulfil his expectations. This first Bazille to reach a Museum in this country was given by Bazille's niece, Madame Meynier de Salinelles, to the Fogg Museum in Cambridge<sup>48</sup> and

was exhibited at the New York World's Fair (1940, Cat.no.32). It is a too ambitious picture. The blending of many divergent motives in a too rationally studied composition creates no unity. Some are familiar to us from the realm of classical art such as the Giorgionesque "Saint Sebastian" at the left, and the "reclining rivergod" in the middle. The *lutteurs* and the group at the right reveal the actuality of Courbet; another, the boy in the water, shows the influence of Manet's poster-flatness.

Bazille must have felt the faults of the picture himself. In a letter to his friend Edmond le Maître which was found in his correspondence only as a draft, thus

obviously never sent off, he wrote:

Je suis dans un moment de découragement profond. Je viens de commencer un tableau que je me promettais de faire avec un vif plaisir. Voilà que je n'ai pas les modèles qu'il me faudrait.<sup>44</sup> Ca va mal, et je ne sais contre qui être furieux. Si je suis forcé de m'arrêter, j'arriverai à Paris avec un seul tableau que vous allez peut être trouver atroce. Ce sont mes Hommes Nus.

Later when the picture was well placed in the Salon of 1870—the last Salon to which Bazille sent pictures—and his friends complimented him, he seemed more satisfied, but his lines to his parents lack the ring of truth: "Mon tableau est très bien placé. Tout le monde le voit et en parle. Beaucoup en disent plus de mal que de bien mais enfin je suis lancé et tout ce que j'exposerai dorénavant

sera regardé."

Besides the Cambridge picture Bazille had submitted two more paintings to the Salon of 1870 which, however, were rejected. One of them is his Atelier 9 rue la Condamine (Paris, Louvre) (Fig. 5), which is dated 1870. The studio was situated near the rue de Batignolles and is therefore also known as Bazille's Un atelier de Batignolles. It shows nearly the same group of artists as Fantin-Latour's better known picture with the same title. That Bazille tried to compete with Fantin is very improbable. He appears himself in Fantin's picture as the tall fellow at the right. Behind him at the right stands Monet, next to him at the left, Zola and Le Maître. The group around Manet is formed by the German painter Scholderer standing, Renoir (with hat), and the sculptor, poet, and art critic, Zacharie Astruc seated.

The identifications of the men in Bazille's *Atelier* differ. Poulain identifies the man at the piano as Le Maître, the tall one as Bazille, the gentleman with hat and cane as Manet, the one with pipe behind him as Monet. So far he agrees with Moreau-Nelaton, <sup>46</sup> but his supposition that the two men talking to each other on the staircase are Zola and Renoir is contradicted by Moreau-Nelaton who calls them Astruc and Sisley. One thing, however, is certain and of great

interest, that Bazille in this picture was painted by Manet. He wrote, "Je me suis amusé jusqu'ici à peindre l'intérieur de mon atelier avec mes amis, Manet m'y fait moi-même. Ce tableau a retardé celui que je vais faire pour le salon."

The last mentioned picture is the *Toilette* (Montpellier Museum), which showed several women, among them one in the nude, another half nude. We believe that it is the unfinished picture hanging over the sofa in Bazille's *Atelier* painting. The other large picture just above it might have been painted from the same model who had posed for the *Toilette* and whom Bazille in a letter calls *ravissante*. The *Toilette*, like the *Atelier*, was refused by the jury.

The Atelier by Bazille is very different from that of Fantin. The latter's picture is an Hommage à Manet. The master is represented as the leader of the younger painters and art critics, but it was not painted in Manet's studio. His atelier, located in the rue Ruyot in the Batignolles district, was never a place of regular gatherings. "The gathering existed only on canvas," says Duret. Bazille's picture is a "souvenir" and a faithful rendering of a real locality. The one is a tight mosaic of figures, solemn and stiff, like a group arranged by an old-fashioned photographer. Bazille's picture, although likewise carefully arranged, has, especially in the main group, preserved much better the atmosphere of an informal visit and of criticism, given in a studio honored by the presence of a great master.

The picture must have been painted in the Spring of 1870. A few months later—the Salon had just closed—the Franco-Prussian war broke out and the members of the Batignolles circle were blown to the winds. Bazille was the only one of the friends who did active war service. When in August, 1870, Renoir heard that Bazille had joined a regiment of Zouaves, he wrote in the teasing style which prevailed between the two friends, "Trois fois m. . archibrute." About the tenth of August Bazille came for the last time, in uniform, to Méric; on the twenty-eighth of November, 1870, he was killed as sous-lieutenant in the battle of Beaune-la-Rolande.

Manet mentioned that event in a rather detached way in a letter to Zola:<sup>47</sup> "Nous avons bien souffert ces derniers temps à Paris; j'apprends d'hier seulement la mort du pauvre Bazille et j'en suis navré; hélas! nous avons vu mourir bien du monde et de toutes les façons."

Another letter by Manet, written some years later to Bazille's father on the occasion of their exchange of Renoir's portrait of Bazille with Monet's Femmes au Jardin, is more personal:

Tout en ne vous cachant pas le regret que nous avons eu, ma famille et moi,

de nous séparer du portrait de notre jeune ami Frédéric Bazille dont nous avions apprécié la charmante nature et l'égale amitié. J'avais trouvé juste au moment où groupe d'artistes faisait une protestation, qu'un hommage fût rendu par l'exposition de son portrait au modeste et sympathique héros, qu'ils avaient compté dans leurs rangs. Mon idée avait du reste été accepté avec enthousiasame par les amis de Frédéric Bazille dont le souvenir est toujours présent parmi eux.

We do not know whether the *hommage* actually took place and in spite of Manet's words that "his memory would always be present among them," their "hero" was soon forgotten. 48 We have already mentioned that Bazille was not represented in the first Impressionist show of 1874 and in the second was seen in an insignificant work we are not able to identify sufficiently.

The most plausible explanation for the fact that Bazille is still the least known among the early Impressionists is the extreme scarcity of his work. Poulain lists only forty-four oils, two albums with 119 drawings (Paris, Louvre), and a few lost works. Bazille's pictures did not appear on the art market until recently, since his family in Montpellier, rich, and proud of Frédéric's achievements, had kept the greater part in their possession. Only about a dozen pictures and the bulk of the drawings were given to museums, chiefly to the Louvre and to the Musée Fabre of Bazille's native town, Montpellier.

The four paintings here published, which have come to North America in the last four years, are therefore the more valuable as an addition to our knowledge of that artist's rare work. Only one of them, the Scènes d'Eté already discussed, was given by a member of the Bazille family to an American museum; the three others reached this country through Parisian dealers or were discovered in Paris. One of them, La Femme à l'Ombrelle, fully signed and dated "F. Bazille 1870", was for a while on loan in the Royal Museum, Ottawa (Fig. 1). The second picture, the so-called Réunion dans un Parc (Fig. 7) (Avery Memorial Museum, Hartford, Conn.), neither signed nor dated, was exhibited for a short time in the Smith College Museum and was first reproduced by M. Charles Sterling of the Louvre as "Bazille". 40 The third, discovered and bought in Paris by the present owner, Mrs. Ralph H. Booth, Grosse Pointe, Mithigan, has the title Trois Femmes dans un Parc (Fig. 6). It is signed "F. Bazille" and has been acknowledged by the nephew of the painter, M. André Bazille of Montpellier, as executed in Montpellier or Méric and possibly as representing relatives of the painter "mère, cousine ou tante." 50

The three small paintings are different in brushstroke from the large pictures

by Bazille discussed so far. They are more sketchy, more impressionistic than the large, carefully executed pictures which he submitted to the Salon. The leafage especially is different. In the *Vue de Village* and *Scènes d'Eté* it was painted with a pointed brush similar to the technique of Monet in his early *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* of 1866. In the three sketches it comes close to the same artist's later "shred and comma" technique.

All three paintings must have been painted in 1870. The Femme à l'Ombrelle in the early spring—clearly indicated by the blooming almond tree<sup>51</sup>—and the two others in late summer, since the last stay of Bazille in Méric is dated August tenth. The scene in the Trois Femmes, an elderly woman wearing a bonnet supported by two younger ones, makes one think of the sufferings of a departure for war.

The higher degree of Impressionism in these three pictures is in accord with Poulain's remarks on Bazille's last pictures, especially about the Jeune Homme Pêchant à la Ligne (Montpellier, André Bazille Coll.): "(II) revêt de multiples coups de pinceau, grâce auxquels le ciel poudroie, le feuillage rutile. C'est par cet appel à l'impressionism que son oeuvre s'achêve."

But it is also significant that, as Poulain has pointed out, Bazille used this technique freely only in works of smaller size and of a more preparatory character and not in his large works destined to be exhibited in the Salon. The spiritual attitude, however, is the same as in the large pictures; refined, aristocratic, and dreamy. The Femme à l'Ombrelle and the Trois Femmes are close to Corot; while of all Bazilles known to the author the Réunion dans un Parc comes closest to Manet. In all three paintings the composition is well balanced, superbly measured. The colors are still either in the gray, silky scale of Corot or the more brownish one of Courbet, but there are surprising darts of strong, local color and intense blue skies shine through green leaves with golden edges. The question as to how much of the impressionistic character of these three intimate sketches would have been preserved in the large exhibition size, must, however, remain open.

It was the courage to see in the so-called sketch the final stage of a painting which next to their high-keyed palette, gave to the paintings of Monet, Renoir, and Sisley this character of daring novelty which became the earmark of Impressionism. It might be supposed that Bazille too was on his way towards the same goal; but, judging from the majority of his works, we hesitate to call him a full-fledged Impressionist. We see in him rather a link between the painting of the older Realists, Courbet and Corot especially, and that of the younger

men like Monet and Renoir, a link also between the French classic and "static" tradition and the more international tendencies towards dynamic disintegration.

<sup>1</sup> This view, somewhat cautiously advanced, was last expressed by Wilhelm Uhde in the preface to Impres-

sionists, Vienna-New York, 1937, p. 21.

Published with the aid of the Bazille family in Gaston Poulain's, Bazille et ses amies, Paris, 1932 (with oeuvre catalogue), our chief source for this article. L. Venturi in his Archives de l'Impressionism, New York, 1939, 2 vols., published letters of the Impressionists to their art dealer, Durand-Ruel, after 1874. In the Introduction dealing with the preceding years, he refers summarily to Poulain's book. The greatest scope has been given to the formative years of Impressionism by R. H. Wilenski in Modern French Painters, New York, 1939, but the passages dealing with Bazille are incorrect in many details.

J. Meier-Graefe, Renoir, Leipzig, 1929, p. 13.

Poulain, op. cit., mentions that Frédéric Bazille's cousin, Louis Bazille, gave a pastel by Delacroix to the Bruyas Collection, and that a portrait of Bruyas by Glaize belonged to the Bazille family. Furthermore Monet's later letters to Frédéric Bazille prove that the artist tried to sell some of his pictures to Bruyas through Frédéric Bazille.

By gift and by his will the 148 pictures collected by Bruyas were given to the Musée Fabre in Montpellier. Bazille had certainly a chance to see and study the collection prior to the date of the bequest in 1868.

Bazille had certainly a chance to see and study the contection prior the date of the orders in 2006.

Bazille worked with him also during vacations while studying medicine. Baussan did a medal after F. Bazille and a marble bust which was set up over his tomb in Montpellier in 1874.

L. N. Lepic (1839-89), a pupil of Gleyre, Wappers, and Cabanel, painter, sculptor and etcher, the same whom Degas has immortalized in his charming Le Vicomte Lepic crossing the Place de la Concorde, and who was one of Degas' intimates. Bazille came to know Degas later through the Belgian painter Stevens. Monet wrote to Bazille from Honfleur in the summer of 1864, "Ce n'est pas avec des gaillards comme votre

Villa et autres que vous pouvez travailler."

\* From the sequence of Bazille's letters in Poulain, op. cit., we conclude that this advice was given about Easter,

1864.

18 Edouard Manet's first big one man show consisted of fourteen pictures, among them Musique aux Tuileries.

and Lola de Valence. Compared with the great impression which this exhibit made upon the young artists, his pictures in the Salon des Refusés, which opened May 15, 1863, were apparently an anticlimax.

Monet's earliest mentioned work after his child prodigy period is a Still Life, which he sent to an exhibit in Rouen, and a Landscape, which he described in a letter to Frédéric Bazille as "une toile entièrement faite sur nature." (Ste. Adresse, October 14, 1864); G. Geffroy, Claude Monet, Paris, 1922, p. 27, mentions as the first pictures exhibited in the Salon of 1864, two landscapes painted near Honfleur. The art critic, Paul Mantz, praised them because of their "goût de colorations harmonieuses." They were painted in the restrained palette of the Barbizon masters. Renoir painted his destroyed Esmeralda, which was accepted by the same Salon of



Fig. 6. JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE, Trois Femmes dans un Parc Grosse Pointe, Michigan, Mrs. Ralph Harmon Booth



Fig. 7. JEAN FRÉDÉRIC BAZILLE, Réunion dans un Parc Hartford, Conn., Avery Memorial Museum

1864. still with asphaltum, and his Still Life with Calla (dated 1864, Winterthur, Reinhardt Coll.), shows more Courbet influence than that of any other painter. This first stay of the group in Chailly is by most writers and still by L. Venturi, op. cit., set in the year 1863.

It is however possible that Renoir already had connections with Diaz.

12 The Salon of 1864 had accepted only two paintings by Manet, Course de Taureaux, and Christ aux Anges. From 1863 the Salon des Beaux Arts was held annually from middle May to middle June, in the Palace of Industry. Its official title from 1881 was Salon de la Societé des Artistes Français.

The country estate of the Bazille family near Montpellier where Frédéric spent his summers. <sup>15</sup> A portrait of Le Maître by Bazille is known. Renoir painted Madame Le Maître several times.

16 Gaston Poulain, op. cit., p. 49.

Duret dates the meeting of Manet and Monet in April, 1866. Likewise Jamot-Wildenstein, Manet, Paris, 1932, p. 81: "Zacharie Astruc va voir Manet dans sons atelier" and introduced Monet to the master.

Structure Collection Michel Monet, Paris; large sketch Staedel Institute, Frankfort. The title is not necessarily inspired

by Manet's famous picture which in the Salon des Refusés was called Le Bain. Reproduced S. Rocheblave, French Painting of the XIX Century, Paris, pl. 56.

We learn from Poulain, op. cit., that Bazille took lessons in harmony, that he participated in the burials of Berlioz and Rossini and that he planned to attend a performance of Richard Wagner's Lobengrin in Brussels in the hope of meeting Wagner there.

Courbet's great success in the Salon of 1866 was his La Femme an Perroquet, in which he came pretty close to Bouguereau's slickness. It seems as though Courbet wanted to please the public. He wrote, "If they are not satisfied this time they must be hard to please. They are going to have two proper pictures, entirely after their own hearts.

Bazille was godfather to this child, Monet's first born son, Jean. Claude Monet married Camille in 1868. <sup>22</sup> In the following years the payments of the installments became a cause of friction between the super-sensitive Monet and Bazille, as we learn from their correspondence. But Bazille did everything in his financial power to assist Monet in the next difficult years. After F. Bazille's death the picture was exchanged by his father for Renoir's portrait of Bazille which belonged originally to Manet. Both pictures are now in the Louvre.

Bazille sent his first Réunion de Famille, which exists only as a fragment, and his portrait of Edmond le Maître, to the Salon.

<sup>22</sup> In the second Impressionist show of 1876 at Durand-Ruel, 11 rue Pelletier, Bazille was represented with La Promenade, app. à M. Manet, and Portrait de M.H.B., pastel.

<sup>26</sup> Among Bazille's portraits was also one of the great lyrical poet, Paul Verlaine, which is lost. F. Coppée probably introduced the painter to the poet. Poulain, op. cit., writes that Verlaine himself mentions this portrait as done by Bazille in a note published by Edmond Lepelletier.

 Reproduced Catalogue, Musée du Luxembourg, p. 78; and Poulain, op. cit.
 Reproduced W. George, Le Dessin Français de David à Cézanne, Paris, 1929, pl. 65.
 "Mon Salon," L'Evénêment Illustré, May 2—June 16, 1868; "Les Actualistes," May 24. <sup>30</sup> Monet was represented by La Jeiée du Haire (now London art market).
<sup>31</sup> L. Venturi, History of Art Criticism, New York, 1936, p. 265.

<sup>22</sup> It is the year of the Ménage Sisley (Cologne, Walraf-Richartz Museum), of the Boy with the Cat (Formerly Berlin, Arnhold Coll.), of the Circus Clown (Holland, Hooge Veluwe, Kroeller Stichting). Originally owned by Edouard Manet, later in the possession of F. Bazille's father, now in the Louvre.

J. Meier-Graefe, op. cit., pp. 26. 27

<sup>25</sup> Les Chefs-d'Oeuvre du Musée de Montpellier, Exposition Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1939, No. 4. <sup>26</sup> Reproduced in Claude Monet, Gedaechtnis Ausstellung, Gallerie Thannhäuser, Berlin, 1928, No. 10. at A Guide to the Paintings, Art Institute of Chicago, 1925, p. 62.

<sup>38</sup> Poulain, op. cit., mentions a pencil note on a drawing done by Bazille at that time: "Penser à bien comparer la valeur de l'eau claire avec l'herbe au soleil.

L. Venturi, Archives de l'Impressionism, I, p. 23.

Le Chefs-d'Oeuvre du Musée de Montpellier, p. 18.

Gérôme (born in Montpellier, 1823, died in Paris, 1904), a former pupil of Gleyre, dominated with Cabanel

and Bouguereau the taste of the public during the era of Napoleon III.

<sup>12</sup> F. Bazille bought for the same cousin a picture by Corot and offered a Delacroix, *Mise au Tombeau* (later Geloès Coll.), for 35000 fr. A year later Bazille recommended to his cousin as the nucleus of a print collection; 'deux ou trois beaux Rembrandt, un ou deux Marc Antoine, Albert (sic) Duerer, Lucas de Leyde, Martin Schoen (Schongauer), Mantegna."

Fogg Art Institute, Bulletin, VII (November 1937), p. 15.

44 The tall youth standing at the left is seen three or even five times when one includes the wrestlers, each time, however, in different trunks. Otto Scholderer (1834-1902), figure and still life painter, lived between 1857-58 and 1868-70 in Paris. He

learned from Courbet and Manet as well as from Leibl and Thoma.

Moreau-Nelaton, Manet raconté par Lui-Même, Paris, 1926, I, p. 117. 47 Jamot-Wildenstein, op. cit., I, p. 88.

<sup>48</sup> Poulain, op. cit., suggests that Zola, who belonged to F. Bazille's earliest acquaintances in Paris, has used Frédéric as model for his Félicien de Hautecoeur in his novel Rêve; "Blond, grand et mince, très distingué, un peu l'air d'un Jésus, mais viril quoique blond.'

L'Amour de l'Art, June, 1931, p. 253

<sup>50</sup> Letter written by André Bazille, July 7, 1938, to M. Tempelaere, the former owner of the picture in Paris. 51 Painted during a short stay, possibly at Easter.

## REMBRANDT AND TITIAN By WOLFGANG STECHOW

-In memoriam, Georg Gronau

Whose mention simultaneously evokes a world of unforgettable experiences—appear here above a rather prosaic piece of research. The juxtaposition of their names does not indicate that we are concerned with metaphysical aspects of their art such as the perennial and infinitely delicate problem of their general coloristic relationship. Rather, by putting their names in chronological reverse we mean to define a strictly historical problem: what was Rembrandt's practical attitude toward Titian's art?

It has been repeatedly stated that Rembrandt borrowed from Titian parts of compositions as well as a number of details. These statements I intend to review and to amplify, raising at the same time two other questions which have not yet found much consideration. First, how can we account for these "influences" of Titian upon Rembrandt, that is, which works of Titian might Rembrandt possibly have known in the original or in reproduction; and second, how did he use them, that is, what did he see in them from an artistic point of view? In the latter connection, the problem of specific coloristic affinities will have to be touched upon, too.

In the inventory which was put up after Rembrandt's bankruptcy of 1656, there appear among the "Art Books" one "very large containing nearly all of Titian's works" (meest alle de wercken van Titiaan), and again "one ditto full of portraits (contresijtsels) by Mierevelt, Titian and others." "Nearly all the works of Titian" obviously means the larger part of the woodcuts by and after Titian, and the available engravings after his works. I shall have to revert again to this statement. The point here is that this source does not inform us at all about Rembrandt's knowledge of original paintings by Titian and consequently of Rembrandt's knowledge of Titian's "palet." In order to gain that information we must turn elsewhere, to data on works of Titian which were in collections we can reasonably assume to have been accessible to Rembrandt. We have also, of course, to consider the great number of spurious attributions to Titian current at those times, some of which were possibly given undue credit by Rembrandt himself. But it is not the purpose of this paper to deal with Rembrandt's conception of Titian's art, tempting though that task may appear.

Recently F. Lugt, in his excellent article on Italian works of art in former

Netherlandish collections,<sup>3</sup> has considerably furthered the solution of the problem of which originals by Titian Rembrandt might possibly have seen. Since there is absolutely no proof of Rembrandt having ever traveled beyond Dutch territory proper, I can restrict myself to those works by Titian which were in the possession of Dutch collectors and art dealers. This means elimination of a large part of Mr. Lugt's material, namely the paintings by Titian in Flemish collections. A closer investigation of the Titians in English collections can likewise be dispensed with since the theory of Rembrandt's trip to England around 1640 has quite recently suffered what may be called a fatal blow.<sup>4</sup>

The paintings by Titian which can be definitely identified and proven to

have been in Holland at the time of Rembrandt are the following:

1. The Flora, now in the Uffizi (Fig. 3). About 1640 this picture was owned by Alfonso Lopez, a Spanish dealer in diamonds and war materials living in Amsterdam; witness the inscription of a reproduction in etching by J. von Sandrart who spent the years between 1637 and 1644 in that city. The Flora was later in the famous collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and did not leave Vienna for Florence until 1793.

2. The portrait formerly supposed to represent *Ariosto*, in the National Gallery at London. This, too, belonged to Lopez and was put up for auction at Paris in December, 1641 (together with other paintings attributed to Titian), as is testified by the well-known letter addressed by the painter Claude Vignon to F. Langlois (alias Ciartres). Like the *Flora*, it had previously been shown by Lopez in Amsterdam where it was engraved by R. Persijn from a drawing by Sandrart, who was also the publisher of the engraving.

3. The so-called *Sannazaro*, now at Hampton Court. It made part of the "Dutch Present" offered Charles II of England by the United Provinces, consisting of pictures from the collection of Gerard Reynst in Amsterdam.

Et voilà tout! Which means, considering the fact that the attribution of the two portraits to Titian has often been doubted, that there is exactly one identifiable and fully authenticated picture by Titian which can be proven to have been accessible to Rembrandt.

We still do not know much about the Arundel collection which made a temporary appearance at Amsterdam in 1654-55 and which is supposed to have harbored thirty-four (!) paintings by Titian. It is to be hoped that Mr. Lugt's promised investigations into the history of that collection (with the help of J. de Bisschop's copies from it) will yield good results; but judging from the amazingly generous attributions to Titian in other contemporary collections,

one must be prepared for surprises, including that of possibly finding all thirty-four attributions apocryphal. As to the famous Reynst collection in Amsterdam, it contained in addition to the Sannazaro, another possible Titian portrait of a Bearded Man Holding a Book, whose original has not survived (engraved by C. van Dalen), and a Madonna with Tobias (engraved by C. Visscher), now in Hampton Court, which is at present generally excluded from Titian's oeuvre.

We may feel more confident when we turn to the pictures attributed to Titian in the collections of Pieter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, although it is disturbing that the latter's inventory listed no less than nineteen paintings by the Venetian master.9 It is hard to believe that these two great Titian followers and Titian propagandists should have failed to be reliable Titian connoisseurs as well. But which of these pictures, except the Ariosto mentioned above, can have been accessible to Rembrandt? Their collections were for the most part assembled on Flemish territory—as was later the case with the important Titian collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and with the notable Van Veerle collection—and partly transferred to English soil later on. In contemporary England one could have encountered such important works by Titian as the Ecce Homo (1620-1648 in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, now in Vienna), and the incomparable treasures of Charles I, such as the Supper at Emmaus (in the king's possession from 1627; after 1649 in Jabach's collection; acquired by Louis XIV in 1671; now in the Louvre); the Imperator series, the so-called Laura Dianti (coll. Charles I; Jabach; Louis XIV; Louvre), and many others. But as mentioned before, the theory of Rembrandt's trip to England has been all but completely discredited; and even if we should put faith in it, it is doubtful whether the Amsterdam bourgeois painter would have been permitted to visit the collections of the king and the Duke of Buckingham or of the court painter Sir Anthony.

All this seems to indicate that Rembrandt's acquaintance with Titian's "palet" must have been a very restricted one. It is a different matter with his knowledge of Titian's compositions. We do know that he had "meest alle de wercken van Titiaan" in his portfolio. As mentioned before, we may reasonably assume that this entry refers to woodcuts by and after Titian and to reproductions of his paintings in engravings. It cannot have been difficult for a clever collector like Rembrandt to fill a large portfolio with works of those two categories. (Even the claim of the inventory that it contained nearly all of them has to be taken with a grain of salt. Titian's large woodcuts add up to a con-

siderable pile by themselves, not counting the engravings.) In trying to find out which of Titian's paintings were available in engravings in Rembrandt's time, our main resource still consists of Crowe's and Cavalcaselle's The Life and Times of Titian. When we compile a list on that basis, we are surprised to see how different from our own the conception of Titian's art must have been in the seventeenth century, quite apart from the lack of knowledge regarding his color and reliable details of design, so far as the northerners were concerned. There were few engravings after what we now consider to be his most important works and rather many of comparatively unimportant ones. The great Venetian altar-pieces, many of the profound late works, a large quantity of the greatest portraits had not been engraved by that time; not even the Assunta seems to have been available in graphic reproductions. At the Mostra di Tiziano held in Venice in 1935 one was offered a good survey of the Italian engravings made after Titian in the sixteenth century; Rembrandt's portfolio must have contained a similar collection with the addition of some northern engravings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries such as the prints by R. Sadeler, P. de Jode, J. Matham, R. Persijn, and a few others. In particular, the engravings of the native Hollander, Cornelis Cort, are likely to have been represented. There are approximately a dozen of them, with a selection of originals which indicates a conception of Titian totally different from ours. 10 Some important examples could not have been found in the portfolio of 1656 but may have been accessible to Rembrandt in his late years. This applies primarily to the Theatrum Pictorium, the illustrated catalog of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, published in 1660 by its curator, Teniers, and a number of single prints such as the one by Chauveau after Titian's Supper at Emmaus, then (1656) in Jabach's collection.

We shall now try to render an account of the factual borrowings of Rembrandt from Titian starting with those cases in which we can be reasonably sure that the work of Titian was accessible to Rembrandt either in the original or in reproductions.

There remains no doubt that Rembrandt knew and utilized the so-called Ariosto. Its imprint on Rembrandt's art is blended, at least for a time, with influences from Raphael's portrait of Count Castiglione which Rembrandt saw and copied in a famous drawing in 1639 and which joined the Ariosto in Lopez' collection (it, too, was engraved by R. Persijn). Rembrandt's borrowings from the Ariosto have been carefully discussed by J. Veth; they are particularly evident in the London Self-Portrait of 1640 and in the Falconer



Fig. 1. REMBRANDT, Hendrickje Stoffels New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 3. TITIAN, Flora Florence, Ustri



Fig. 2. REMBRANDT, Saskia Dresden, Gallery

of 1643.

Not yet discussed but hardly doubtful, is the imprint of Titian's Flora (Fig. 3) on Rembrandt's portrait of Saskia of 1641 in Dresden<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 2). The Flora, too, was in Lopez' hands around 1640 (probably at the same time as the Ariosto and the Castiglione) when it was etched (in the reverse) by Sandrart himself and inscribed with a dedication to his cousin M. le Blon. The gesture of Saskia's right hand holding the flower, of her left hand holding the dress over her bosom, and the fluent softness and yielding grace of her entire attitude seem to point to such connection. A sublime transmutation of this influence may be recognized in the Hendrickje of 1660 in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Huntington coll.) (Fig. 1), one of the greatest miracles wrought by the hands of the aging master.

J. Veth has also shown that the galloping horseman of the *Concord of the State* was modeled upon similar figures in the background of Titian's *Battle of Cadore*<sup>13</sup> which Rembrandt must have known through Giulio Fontana's engraving. The lion of the same allegory seems to show the influence of his colleague in Titian's *Forge of the Cyclops*, <sup>14</sup> as witnessed by the attitude of his head and his somewhat strange expression.

Elsewhere<sup>15</sup> I have dwelt upon Rembrandt's utilization of Titian's Supper at Emmaus in the Louvre (Fig. 4)—not so much in the etching of 1654 as in the late drawing in Amsterdam (about 1660) (Fig. 5).

It was noticed long ago<sup>16</sup> that the etching of St. Jerome of about 1653 (B. 104) is reminiscent of certain compositions by Titian such as the St. Jerome engraved by Cornelis Cort. There is a similarity in the general idea of content, composition, and attitude as well as in the powerful shape of the trees.

All of these borrowings and influences refer to works of Titian which we can prove to have been accessible to Rembrandt in some form or other. But the situation is not always so clear as that. We still cannot say how Rembrandt came to know Titian's Assunta, which doubtless influenced his representation of Christ's Ascension of 1636 in the series of paintings done for Frederik Hendrik. This case seems to admit of only one explanation: the existence of a copy (painting or drawing) which must have made the round of the artists' studios at that time. It is certain that Rubens' Ascension of Mary, now at Brussels, which Rembrandt may have utilized for the kneeling disciple of the same picture, contains a figure of Mary which is less closely related to Rembrandt's Christ than is Titian's Mary. However, it seems to me that this is the only significant exception of that sort.

The casual remarks of several writers about other borrowings of Rembrandt from Titian appear to carry little weight. I am referring, among others, to Titian's *Madonna* in Munich, which has been called the source of Rembrandt's *Holy Family* of 1631 in the same museum, <sup>19</sup> and the alleged connection between Titian's *Noli me Tangere* in London and Rembrandt's representation of the same subject in Brunswick. <sup>20</sup> The same is true of the frequently discussed relationship between Titian's *Ecce Homo* in Vienna<sup>21</sup> (then owned by the Duke of Buckingham) and Rembrandt's *Night Watch*. <sup>22</sup> Here, it seems, the danger of "influence-hunting" is just around the corner.

After the discussion of the factual connections and their historical possibility or probability, we may hark back to the more important problem: how did Rembrandt utilize Titian, in other words, what did those influences mean

to him artistically?

To this end, the consideration of the chronology of the borrowings may prove helpful. We find the following dates: Assunta-Ascension, 1636; Ariosto-Self-Portrait (London), 1640, and Falconer, 1643; Flora-Saskia (Dresden), 1641; Battle of Cadore-Concord of the State, 1641; Supper at Emmaus, ca. 1660. These are the more obvious cases; a less significant one is the St. Jerome, ca. 1653.

This list shows that there is no trace of an influence by Titian on Rembrandt during the twenties and early thirties. One appears in 1636. In the years 1640-43 fall three cases of Rembrandt's artistic preoccupation with Titian; in the fifties one of a rather vague nature; around 1660 one significant example—as far as we can see. Nearly all of them belong to the period in which Rembrandt had ceased to be primarily interested in the utmost degree of dramatic action and crass realism, or, in his own words, in "die meeste ende die natureelste beweechgelickheyt."<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the case of the Ascension of 1636 can perhaps be classified as a seeming exception. In it Rembrandt sought the advice of a great master regarding a problem which baffled and embarrassed him for a long time: the convincing representation of a suspended body. Rembrandt made several unequivocal borrowings for that purpose.<sup>24</sup> Even at a later period he did not entirely overcome its difficulties; he preferred to discard the "bodily" miracle of the hovering figure in favor of the bodiless one, for instance in the incorporeal Christ-Light of the Emmaus drawing in Cambridge (formerly in the Ricketts-Shannon coll.).<sup>25</sup> But corporeal suspension has always been a favorite motif of Italian and Catholic art, and Titian's Assunta was one of its supreme

realizations. Thus we may say that in this case Rembrandt borrowed from Titian not for the sake of increased dramatic action but for a different, more technical reason. In the *Concord*, Rembrandt applied to Titian for enlightenment regarding another problem with which he was not too well acquainted: the galloping horseman of a battlepiece. This, too, was a favorite topic of southern art, tested in thousands of cases and again culminating in a work of Titian, the *Battle of Cadore*. The Dutch had not yet taken it up on a large scale at that time, and Rembrandt had already harked back to a relatively inferior Italian artist, Tempesta, in doing the two "little" *Lion Hunts* (B. 115-116, ca. 1629), and did so again in the very year in which he painted the *Concord* 

("large" Lion Hunt, B. 114).26

At this time, however, Titian's art assumed a much more important rôle in Rembrandt's development, not in details but in a far more comprehensive and significant fashion. Ariosto and Flora (Fig. 3), not only offered tempting gestures, attitudes and details of southern elegance and refinement, but were absorbed by Rembrandt as an integrated whole. Their spirit and their composition are one and were perceived as such by Rembrandt. The courtly elegance of the male portrait must have appealed to him from the point of view of representative dignity also; but even more entrancing proved to be its delicate softness, and in particular the musing, relaxed, flowerlike charm of the woman. The Self-Portrait of 1640 and the Saskia of 1641 (Fig. 2), show these influences at their height. But there was something more alluring about those works of Titian, their coloristic treatment. It is precisely the Ariosto and the Flora which we proved to have been accessible to Rembrandt in the original; and the paintings of Rembrandt which were influenced by them are important witnesses of a new tendency toward the use of a softer brushstroke and a more lyrical color harmony. It would be too bold to speak of an actual coloristic similarity without having had another opportunity to study the pictures by Titian and Rembrandt in close succession. But it seems permissible to point to a considerable degree of rapprochement between the two masters on that occasion. It is of course true that there existed an inherent tendency toward a similar goal in Rembrandt's art of that period; but the specific path upon which he embarked was certainly suggested by Titian. On the whole it can hardly be gainsaid that Rembrandt's coloristic style around 1640 was more akin to Titian's early style between Ariosto and Flora than were the more detailed color conception of his early, and the dark-glowing mysteriousness of his late period.

Omitting the relatively vague case of the St. Jerome etching (B. 104), we have to say one more word about the strong influence exerted upon Rembrandt's Emmaus drawing at Amsterdam (Fig. 5) by Titian's Louvre painting of the same subject (Fig. 4). That influence—Chauveau's engraving of 1656 being the probable go-between—is borne out by a comparison of the structure of the two works. Leonardo's great composition of the Last Supper had been adapted and characteristically transformed into a Supper at Emmaus by Titian. Rembrandt realized the quintessence of that transformation and turned it into something even more succinct. It was the period in which Rembrandt acquired a final and sublime understanding of classical simplicity and monumentality of composition, working back, as it were, from the extreme baroque decentralization of his earlier years to ever greater simplification. While he retained the freer grouping of the sides of the composition as introduced by Titian, he reemphasized the structural power of Christ in the center even more than had his predecessor. Instead of harking back to Titian's baroque coloristic qualities as Rubens had done thirty years before, Rembrandt, in a drawing, availed himself of the structural qualities of the Venetian master. Rembrandt's late Louvre painting in which his preoccupation with the mystery of the Supper at Emmaus culminated,<sup>27</sup> stands alone in the history of color. Titian's structural influence on Rembrandt is paralleled by many other examples of a new understanding of great Renaissance compositions on the part of the Dutch master.

In the same year, 1660, Rembrandt once more remembered Titian's Flora (Fig. 3). An incomparable masterpiece, the last Hendrickje portrait (Fig. 1) bears witness to this. In it the contours of the Flora are dimly recognizable in a transformation of the most sublime order which makes the influence of the same Titian picture upon the Saskia of 1641 appear almost superficial by comparison. Are we going too far in intimating that Titian's Flora herself appears to be of a somewhat external beauty when compared with that most glorious example of painting the beauty of a soul which is the last portrait of Hendrickje?

<sup>1</sup> This problem was tackled by Roger de Piles as early as 1699 (Abrégé de la Vie des Pointres, p. 438, reprinted by C. Hofstede de Groot, Die Urhunden über Rembrands, The Hague, 1906, p. 440) and many times since (recently by Th. Hetzer, Tizian, Geschichte seiner Farbe, Frankfurt, 1935, p. 243 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> C. Hofstede de Groot, op. cit., p. 201, No. 216 and p. 203, No. 246.

<sup>3</sup> F. Lugt, "Italiaansche Kunstwerken in Nederlandsche Verzamelingen van vroeger Tijden," Oud Holland,

F. Lugt, "Italiaansche Kunstwerken in Nederlandsche Verzamelingen van vroeger Tijden," Oud Holland, LIII (1936), p. 97 ff.

After this favorite theory of Hofstede de Groot's had been tentatively supported by Ursula Hoff, Rembrands und England, Diss. Hamburg, 1935; and Gertrude Wimmer, Graphische Künste, N.F. I (1936), p. 144 ff.; A. Welcker, Oud Holland, LVII (1940), p. 115 ff., has shown that in all probability Govaert Flinck was responsible for Rembrandt's knowledge of English scenery as well as for some of the drawings in question. A report on this article is found in Art Bulletin, XXIII (1941), p. 229.

C. Hofstede de Groot, op. cit., p. 116 ff., No. 90. The history of this picture has often been completely misstated and needs further clarification. When J. Müller-Rostock published the list of the "Collectione delli quadri et Ritratti di Titiano, et altri vecchi maestri, dil Cavalliere van Dyck," which he had found among war documents in the Vienna Roichsarchiv, (Zoitschrift für bildende Kunst, LVII (1922), p. 22), he believed that the date 1644 written by a different hand on the reverse of the list, was apocryphal, and that the catalog had been compiled "between 1630 and 1640." Apart from the fact that 1632 rather than 1630 would be the earliest possible date (since Van Dyck was already called Cavaliere), there does not seem to exist any cogent reason to doubt the date 1644. Certainly the fact that the portrait of L'Ariosto Poeta is present on that list (No. 18) would suggest the later date rather than the earlier one as the author assumed. For if this portrait is identical with the London Ariosto—and there is no reason for doubting this identification—it is much more probable that Van Dyck ordered Vignon to buy it at the Lopez sale which was held in Paris (not in London) in December 1641, than that he owned it some time after 1632, sold it to Lopez who showed it in Amsterdam before 1640, and was told by Vignon in November 1641 that it could be had at Lopez' sale without any reference to its having been in its having been in Van Dyck's possession before! It is true that Van Dyck could not have seen the portrait arrive in London since he died on December 11th, 1641. The picture seems to have remained in England ever since; it was not in the Reynst Collection in Amsterdam consequently not in the "Dutch Present" either, as has often been erroneously stated (see G. M. Richter, Giorgio da Castelfranco, Chicago, 1937, p. 225). On the influence of the Ariosto on Dutch art see also W. R. Valentiner, Art Quarterly, I (1938), p. 162.

It is true that the London Ariosto is claimed for Giorgione, or a follower of Giorgione, by many scholars. I do not venture any suggestion as to the correct attribution; but a word of protest is due regarding the opinion of Th. Hetzer, Die frühen Gemälde des Tizian, Basel, 1920, p. 11. He gives the Ariosto to a "Follower of Sebastiano del Piombo(?)" and states his very low estimate of the painting whose extraordinary originality he utterly fails to see. Rembrandt, for one, was of a different opinion. It matters little in our connection whether it was painted by Giorgione or Titian, or even possibly copied after either of them; its importance for Rembrandt's

art is inseparable from that of the authentic paintings by Titian.

F. Lugt, op. cit., p. 120. These "Titians" do not seem to be found among Wenzel Hollar's etchings from the

\*F. Lugt, op. cit., p. 120. These "Titians" do not seem to be found among Wenzel Hollar's etchings from the Arundel collection.

\*F. Lugt, op. cit., p. 132, note 71.

\*For the Reynst collection see also E. Jacobs, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, XLV (1925), p. 22 ff. Nothing is known about the "Titians" of the collections Kretzer in Amsterdam, Lois and Van der Hulst in Rotterdam (see F. Lugt, op. cit., and A. Bredius, Künstler-Inventare, index, s. v. Titian). A drawing in Haarlem which was considered by some to be Titian's model for Rembrandt's Saskia in Cassel (Kronig, Oud Holland, XXXII (1914), p. 264; J.L.A.M. van Rijckevorsel, Rembrandt en de Traditie, Rotterdam, 1932, p. 116 and Fig. 127) can hardly be "rescued" for Titian, although A. L. Mayer has tried to do so (Gazette des Beaux Arts, December, 1937, p. 310).

\*See J. Müller-Rostock and F. Lugt, op. cit. Only a few of the Titian pictures on Van Dyck's list can be identified with existing authentic paintings, such as the Vendramin (formerly Cornare) Family, now in London.

tified with existing authentic paintings, such as the Vendramin (formerly Cornaro) Family, now in London.

The Corteggiana con un specchio et un huomo (No. 4) cannot have been the Louvre version of the Laura Dianti which was acquired by Charles I from Mantua direct.

The list in A. von Wurzbach, Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon, has to be supplemented from the catalog of the Mostra di Tiziano, Venice, 1935.

11 Onze Kunst, 1906 (identical with L'Art flamand et hollandais, II. année, tome 4 (1905), p. 81 ff.) and Oud

Holland, XXXIII (1915), p. 4.

I cannot detect any Titian influence in Rembrandt's own Flora paintings. Th. Hetzer (Tizian, Frankfurt, 1935, p. 246) sees in the Dresden Saskia a motif which is reminiscent of Titian's women of the thirties. Which

Oud Holland, XXXIII (1915), p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Engraved by Cornelis Cort; reproduced by H. Tietze, *Tizian*, Vienαa, 1936, pl. XXII (wrongly as by Melchior Meier; English edition, 1937, Fig. 317).

<sup>18</sup> Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, III (1934), p. 340; also W. R. Valentiner, Rembrandt und seine Umgebung,

Strassburg, 1905, p. 81, ff. \*\*However, the drawing quoted by Seymour Haden in 1877 (Dr. Wellesley coll.) is not listed in recent works on Titian; it is identical with the Domenico Campagnola drawing in London (D. von Hadeln, Tizian's Handzeichnungen, Berlin, 1924, pl. 49)? Incidentally, is not Rembrandt's etching of the Negress (B. 205) more likely to have been influenced by Giulio Campagnola's lying nude (reproduced: Richter, op. cit., pl. 62; and H. Tietze, Tizian, Vienna, 1936, pl. 13) than by Velasquez' Venus in London (Van Rijckevorsel, op. cit., p. 214)?

\*\* G. Gronau, *Titian*, London, 1904, p. 207.

<sup>38</sup> It is certain that Rembrandt knew Jacopo Bassano's Entombment in Santa Maria del Vanzo in Padua from a similar copy or replica (one of them was actually in the Reynst collection in Amsterdam, as Tintoretto; see F. Lugt, op. cit., p. 117, note 40); he copied part of it in the lower left group of the Descent from the Cross from the same Frederik Hendrik series; see W. Stechow, Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, L

(1929), p. 222.

Wan Rijckevorsel, op. cit., p. 87 ff.

J. Veth, op. cit.; A. M. Hind, Rembrandt, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932, p. 8 ff.

F. Hudig, Oud Holland, XLI (1923-24), p. 8 ff.

The same is true of a number of suggestions concerning Rembrandt's debt to Giorgione, such as the comparison between the San Liberale of the Castelfranco Madonna and the Cassel Halberdier (A. de Hevesy, Revue de l'art, I (1936), p. 141 ff.). More interesting is the same author's renewed discussion of the relationship between Rembrandt's Jewish Bride and Giorgione's often repeated Couple (see also Van Rijckevorsel, op. cit., p. 223 and Fig. 287), although a closer iconographical parallel has been pointed out by Ch. de Tolnay, Amour de l'art, 1935, p. 275 ff.: the woodcut illustration of the Concordia maritale in Ripa's Iconologia.

3 C. Hofstede de Groot, op. cit., p. 69, No. 65 (written in January, 1639, but with a distinct touch of retrospection).

spection).

\*\* E.g. from Maerten van Heemskerck for the hovering angel of the Tobias of 1637 in Paris; see Van Rijcke-

vorsel, op. cit., p. 142.

\*\*Reproduced: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, III (1934), p. 336; W. R. Valentiner, Rembrandt's Handzeichnungen (Klassiker der Kunst series), No. 528. For the constant trouble he had with the angel of the Sacrifice of Manoah, see F. Saxl's recent study of that composition (London, 1939).

\*\*N. Beets, Bredius Feest-Bundel, Amsterdam, 1915, p. 1 ff. For the early date of B. 116 see K. Bauch, Die Kunst des jungen Rembrandt, Heidelberg, 1933, pp. 46, 186.

\*\*See note 15 and W. Stechow, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, IV (1940-41), p. 110 ff.



Fig. 4. TITIAN, Supper at Emmaus
Paris, Louvre



Fig. 5. REMBRANDT, Supper at Emmaus Amsterdam, Print Room

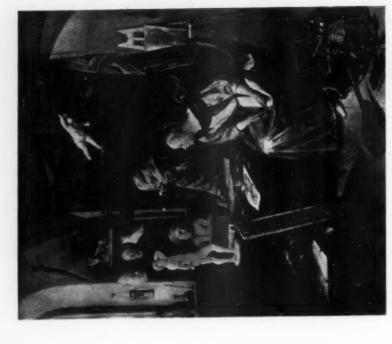


Fig. 2. JAN STEEN, The Drawing Master A. Reimann Collection



Fig. 1. JAN STEEN, The Drawing Master A. Reimann Collection

#### ALESSANDRO VITTORIA AND MICHELANGELO

By W. R. VALENTINER

Jan Steen, between the austere sculptor of the Italian counter-reformation and the humorous painter of the worldly seventeenth century art of Holland. Yet, if we study the formal side of Jan Steen's art which is generally overlooked by those who are fascinated by the inventive and entertaining character of his paintings, we find a clear stylistic connection between the two masters. The compositional schemes and contraposto movements of the individual figures in Jan Steen's paintings are based upon the formulas of the High Renaissance, which Michelangelo first of all created. And that Steen, as a baroque master, knew well the sources from which his art sprang, is proved by the fact (which we would least expect of him) that he was obviously an admirer of Michelangelo. This we may conclude from the fact that he used casts of sculptures by or in the style of Michelangelo for purposes of instruction and that he had such plaster casts on the shelves of his studio.

In one of two paintings by Jan Steen illustrated here (Fig. 1) we observe on a bracket on the wall of his studio a small reproduction of one of the two slaves by Michelangelo in the Louvre. In the other (Fig. 2) two children, a boy and a girl, are drawing from a plaster cast of somewhat similar character and size. It is undoubtedly Michelangelesque, yet a sculpture exactly corresponding to the cast is not known among the works of the great master. Those who have occupied themselves with the identification of the plaster casts used as models by Dutch painters in the seventeenth century, have thus far tried in vain to identify it. The reason is that the original was hidden in an American private collection until only recently, when it turned up at a public sale and was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 3).

This bronze statuette representing St. Sebastian (formerly in the Bayer and Glendenin J. Ryan collections) is a work by Alessandro Vittoria. It bears on the base the signature: Alexander Victor T. F.<sup>2</sup> Another proof is a portrait of Alessandro Vittoria by Paolo Veronese<sup>3</sup> in which the sculptor holds this statuette in his hand (Fig. 5). Those who doubt that the portrait represents this sculptor, should compare it with the well-known sculptured portrait on his tomb in S. Zaccaria at Venice,<sup>4</sup> of which a version with different drapery exists in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 6). It shows the same pleasant, not too intelligent

type of artist who had developed out of narrow surroundings into a higher social sphere, of which the elegant costume speaks.

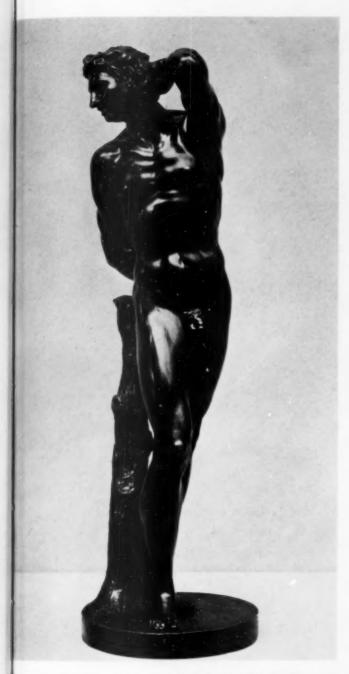
In the painted portrait the position of the head of the bronze statuette has been changed either by Veronese or, more likely, by a recent restorer. The head should not look down to the front but turn away in lost profile, as the bronze statuette in the Metropolitan Museum shows. The figure's size in proportion to the artist, in the Veronese portrait, agrees approximately with the height of the bronze statuette (21½ inches) and also to that of the plaster cast in Jan Steen's painting, which reproduces the bronze without the tree stump behind it. In the seventeenth century the statuette was in Italy as well known as in the Netherlands, as is proved by the fact that the excellent still-life painter, Baschenis of Bergamo (1617-1677), reproduces it in one of his paintings in the Academia Carrara at Bergamo.<sup>5</sup>.

The bronze statuette of the Metropolitan Museum exists in a second version which shows considerable variations (on the New York art market, Fig. 4). The body is slightly more twisted, the figure wears a loin cloth, the tree is more curved, the signature is missing on the base. But the quality is in no way inferior, while the composition is even more harmonious and shows the artist obviously in a more advanced stage.

If we study Alessandro Vittoria's authentic works in Venetian churches, it is easy to see that the two bronze statuettes are more or less exact repetitions of the life size marble figure of St. Sebastian from the altar in S. Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 7). It is the first important work by the master in Venice, executed for Nicolo da Montrefeltre between 1561 and 1563. Planiscig remarks rightly that the Michelangelesque St. Sebastian reminds us of the Louvre Slaves, and at the same time of the antique Laocoön, which was known to Alessandro Vittoria as well as to Michelangelo (it was excavated in Rome in 1506). The influence of Michelangelo upon the Venetian sculptor is obvious; we learn even that Alessandro owned casts after sculptures of Michelangelo and acquired some of his models. I think that we can even trace the influence of one of these models more closely.

From a diary left by Vittoria we learn that in 1566 he had a bronze statuette cast representing St. Sebastian, and in 1575 another of the same subject. The last mentioned appears again in his will: the artist hoped it would be sold after his death to a prince or another person who would appreciate it—words which speak for the pride he took in this figure. Planiscig adds that both statuettes are lost but if they should turn up, it should not be difficult to identify

g. 3. AI



g. 3. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA, St. Sebastian Bronze Statuette New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 4. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA, St. Sebastian Bronze Statuette New York Art Market

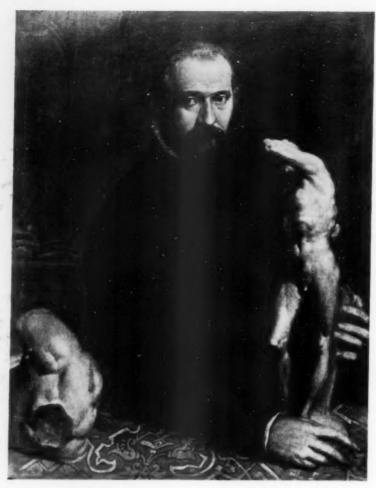


Fig. 5. PAOLO VERONESE, Portrait of Alessandro Vittoria New York, Private Collection



Fig. 6. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA Self-Portrait Marble Bust Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum

them, the first because it would be related to the marble figure of S. Francesco della Vigna, the second as it would probably show his more advanced style, the forma serpentinata of which Lomazzo speaks. There is hardly any doubt that we can identify the two statuettes in New York with the two mentioned in Vittoria's notes. Although the one on the New York art market has a loincloth like the marble figure, I believe that the nude one in the Metropolitan Museum is the earlier of the two, that is, the statuette of 1566. The other is more advanced in style; yet the differences are not as great as Planiscig expected, as the "double contrapost of mannerism" is the same in both figures. The most essential difference is that the tree, which has no linear connection with the figure's movement in the Metropolitan Museum version, is brought in the later into the rhythm of the figure, as the side view shows especially (Fig. 8). Thus the forma serpentinata for which the sculptors of the latter part of the sixteenth century as well as painters like Tintoretto strove, is more perfectly developed in the second version. But even so, in spite of its conscious rhythm and its elongated forms, the figure is in its pose fundamentally Michelangelesque. Planiscig felt rightly in front of the altar in S. Francesco della Vigna that the position of the right figure as a St. Sebastian is unusual and difficult to explain. Also in the first bronze statuette we are conscious of the fact that the tree behind the figure has been added as an afterthought. The reason is that the figure was originally not invented as a St. Sebastian but as a prisoner, like the Louvre Slaves. The true St. Sebastian is supposed to be resigned to his terrible fate and was always represented as a suffering but not a rebellious martyr. This figure, however, tries to free himself from the chains which obviously tie him not against a tree, but against a wall. The motif is the same as in the prisoners which Michelangelo executed for the tomb of Julius II; the pose varies no more than the poses of the other prisoners vary one from another.

It may well be that a reproduction of the original model is preserved to us in a small figure made of olive wood, which goes back to Michelangelo's time, possibly even to one of his pupils (Fig. 9). The figure, once in the possession of R. Langton Douglas who acquired it from an English collection, must have been considered in early times as of special value, as (in the late seventeenth century?) it was placed upon a base of ebony with silver mountings; it may at that time even have been considered a work by Michelangelo himself.

The shorter proportions and more massive forms of the figure are earlier in character than Alessandro Vittoria's *St. Sebastian* of S. Francesco della Vigna. The head alone speaks for an invention of Michelangelo; it expresses

torture and pain much more than the handsome face of Alessandro Vittoria's figure with its forced sentimentality. Only the position of the feet, both of which stand solidly on the ground, makes one feel doubtful at the first impression whether it could be a conception of Michelangelo. We do not find such a position in any of his other sculpture; his figures always stand with one foot entirely on the ground while the other steps lightly forward or backward. We do find this same position, however, among the closest followers of Michelangelo at Florence, for instance, in the statue of Hercules which Bartolomeo Ammanati executed for the Palazzo Mantua-Benavides at Padua in 1544 (Fig. 10). And if we study the different positions of the Slaves in the original sketch by Michelangelo for the Julius tomb (in the two first projects of 1505 and 1513) of which two copies are preserved, we observe that the Slave who seems to correspond to our figure appears to place both feet solidly upon the ground. This is the Slave standing in shadow at the extreme right in the drawing (Berlin print room; Berenson, 1623) which represents the tomb according to the contract of 1513, as Dr. Panofsky has shown. This figure, seen in profile to the right, places its right arm down and behind his back and turns its head towards the front, as does our small wooden figure. Unfortunately, there is no absolute certainty in regard to the original position of the feet: the Berlin sketch is unfinished (or damaged) just at the important part of the left foot which is placed backwards. In the other copy of the lost original (Uffizi; Berenson, 1632) both feet are solidly placed upon the ground, but in other respects the drawing, which is more careless than the other, does not tally with our figure. The position of the two feet is interchanged; that is, the left is placed forward instead of the right, while the head is turned in profile to the right instead of to the front. Both drawings are therefore not very reliable if we wish to draw a definite conclusion. But one can at least say that it is not very likely a copyist would have used such an unusual position for the feet of this slave if he had not seen it in the original.

We know that Michelangelo made not only sketches but also small models for the important architectural and sculptural undertakings commissioned of him. These models were executed in various materials. In the contract of 1513 referring to the tomb of Julius II a small wooden model is mentioned. In a letter of 1517 the artist speaks of a small model in terracotta of the façade of San Lorenzo which he had made for his own use and which had lost its shape "like a butter cake." From a letter of 1520 we learn that he constructed another model of this façade for the Pope: "I went from Carrara to Florence so as to



Fig. 7. ALESSANDRO VITTORIA, Marble Altar Venice, S. Francesco della Vigna



Fig. 10. BARTOLOMEO AMMANATI Hercules Marble Statue Padua



Fig. 9. MODEL OF SLAVE, after Michelangelo Wood Statuette, XVI Century Detroit, Private Collection

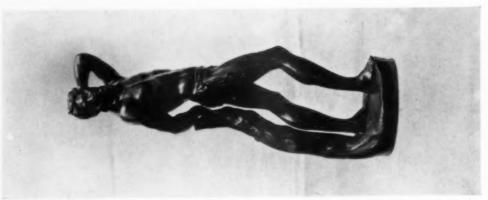


Fig. 8. Side view of Figure 4

construct the model and made it out of wood, exactly in the manner it had to be executed, with the figures in wax." 12 From this we should expect that if the wooden model for the Julius tomb contained figures, they also would be executed in wax.

Our wooden figure of a slave is just about the size we should expect these wax figures for the wooden tomb model would have been. Perhaps it is a copy by one of Michelangelo's pupils of a wax figure made by Michelangelo for his model of the tomb of Julius II. In any case, it is so closely connected in style and pose with the two figures in the Louvre to make plausible the theory that through it there is preserved to us a lost model by Michelangelo for one of the slaves of the Julius tomb.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> F. Antal, "Concerning Some Jan Steen Pictures in America," Art in America, XIII (1924-25), pp. 107-116.

<sup>2</sup> The "T" refers to Trient, the birthplace of the sculptor.

<sup>3</sup> The portrait has been published as a work of Paolo Veronese by Adolfo Venturi in La Critica d'Arte, II

<sup>(1937),</sup> p. 40.

Reproduced in L. Planiscig, Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance, 1921, p. 523.

Reproduced in Delogu, Pittori Minori, 1931, p. 358.

L. Planiscig, op. cit., p. 451.

L. Planiscig, op. cit.; and F. Kriegbaum, Austrian Jahrhuch, 1929, p. 252.

Captain Langton Douglas informed me that so far as he remembers the figure was bought at the Capel-Cure sale at Christies (May 1904). Mr. Capel-Cure inherited the collection from his uncle Mr. Cheney. The family seat was in Shropshire.

L. Planiscig, op. cit., p. 435.

E. Panofsky, "The First Two Projects of Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II," Art Bulletin, XIX (Dec. 1937), 10 E. Panofsky,

p. 561. E. Frey, Michelangelo's Briefe, 1907, p. 85.

<sup>13</sup> E. Frey, op. cit., p. 101.

### THE ILLUSTRATIVE AND LANDSCAPE WATERCOLORS OF CHARLES DEMUTH

By SHERMAN E. LEE

Like any Jamesian character,
They learn to draw the careful line,
Develop, understand, define.
W. H. Auden—The Double Man.

Whereas Marin presents the appearance of a romantic extrovert, Demuth suggests the introversion of the extremely sophisticated and sensitive person. Like Proust and James, with whom he had a sympathetic understanding, Demuth's art is the subtle, civilized art of perfected suggestion by indirection. It is of no use to discard him as over-delicate or too feminine, for behind his delicacies lies the strength of a great master. To the casual observer the flower pictures are Demuth's most representative works. More extended consideration reveals the strength of construction in his landscapes and still lifes, the strength of suggested emotion and setting in his great illustrations. Behind these qualities is a sure sense of materials, and an ability to organize aesthetic components in a complete and finished manner. Marin's work has been called sketchy; Demuth's could never be called that.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike other American artists, Demuth would have been the first to acknowledge his indebtedness to the movements of painting in Modern Europe, particularly France. While in Paris from 1912 to 1914, Demuth was associated with Les Jeunes and the others around Marcel Duchamp. Cubism obviously fascinated him, particularly in still life and landscape. Watercolors by Marin and photographs by Man Ray were to be found in his Lancaster, Pennsylvania home. His awareness of the modern movements made him sensitive to the folk art of the Pennsylvania Germans as well as to other types in this country. Like Marin he never imitated in a futile, derivative sense, but made the attitudes and techniques his own, to be integrated with his subject matter and his desires. His continued acquaintance with Sheeler, Marin, Man Ray, William Carlos Williams and Stieglitz allowed him to keep up thoroughly with the mind of the day. After his two European trips of 1904, 1912-1914, his traveling was confined to this country and Bermuda, but in general Lancaster was his continued home.

Demuth's death in 1935 was the result of a long illness, an ailment that



Fig. 1. CHARLES DEMUTH, Strolling New York, Museum of Modern Art



Fig. 2. CHARLES DEMUTH, At Marshall's Merion, Pa., The Barnes Foundation



Fig. 3. CHARLES DEMUTH, In Vaudeville Merion, Pa., The Barnes Foundation



Fig. 4. CHARLES DEMUTH, Acrobats New York, Museum of Modern Art



Fig. 5. CHARLES DEMUTH, Ta Nana New York Art Market



Fig. 6. CHARLES DEMUTH, At Laura's New York, Museum of Modern Art

had always been with him and was one of the determinants in his choice of career. This sickness, diabetes, certainly must have affected his attitude and his art. It is, perhaps, too simple to say that the surface fragility of his work was the result of his affliction. But the fact remains that his boldest work was produced early in life, and that after he had embarked on the quieter still lifes he once answered, "I simply haven't the strength", when asked why he did no more figure pieces. Certainly this would indicate that his health had much to do with the turn of his work after 1920.

The earliest Demuths of interest to us were executed in 1912 on his second trip to Paris. In these works the illustrative qualities are pre-eminent. The handling of the medium is extremely simple, so simple as to approach the category of the tinted drawing. The delicate pencil line is continuous and flowing, the wash is even, wet and very transparent. These sketches have a simple, intimate air that is most appropriate to the handling. In Strolling (Fig. 1) we see the beginnings of that effective pencil work under the wash that does so much to enliven and strengthen even areas of color. Backgrounds are undeveloped in these early works, all interest being concentrated on the figures. The drawing, as in all of Demuth's illustrational work, is free flowing and not tied too tightly to the intricacies of the form beneath. Concentration is upon the momentary impression of pose and attitude, the hunch of a shoulder, the bend of a knee. I cannot escape the impression that these early works are parallel to some of Bonnard's drawings and prints. The intimate quality, the suggestive line and the delicate color seem vaguely common to both. These works can be considered as slight sketches but they definitely indicate the illustrational development of Demuth's next years.

During this second European trip, Demuth executed a few landscapes that are of passing interest because of their unusual flavor. The color in these is unusually complex with a full range of light Impressionist color. Calligraphic squiggles of the brush give a nervous movement to the sea and landscape. The color is more sensuous, more full and saturated than usual, reminiscent of Signac in type. The strokes blend in with one another in a manner analagous of Renoir's late landscapes. The broad sweep of the distance in the landscape is also unusual, for Demuth characteristically uses enclosed and shallow space, well defined. These light, airy landscapes, sensuous and atmospheric rather than austere and organized, are sharp contrasts to the later pictures in a more abstract, constructive manner.

The year 1915 produced works that are diametrically opposed to these last

mentioned pictures. In the *Flowers* of that year (Addison Gallery, Andover) the flowers are laid in a kind of all-over pattern against a flat, close background of dark browns, maroons, and blues. The flowers, loosely drawn in pencil, are light against this area. The background is varied by pooling the color in the hollows and wrinkles of the smooth paper, a method found in Pennsylvania German fracturs. This mottled texture advances and recedes, while the evenly washed flowers mark the forward limit of the apparent movement. These pictures are most sensuous in color and pattern. It almost seems as if Demuth tried his new technique out in an abstract manner before applying it to the illustrational scenes. In these flower pieces, however, there is little pencil work beneath the washes, and none of the sharp blotting effects which he used later.

In 1916 we begin to get the flood of illustrative watercolors that continued until 1920. At first these works carry on the methods seen in the 1915 flower pieces. Angel Fish<sup>4</sup> is mainly of decorative interest, like the flower pictures, but there is now the new element of human representation. The complete statement of the new form can be seen in the remarkable watercolors illustrating scenes of night life. In this respect they can be considered as a late manifestation of the fin-de-siècle concern with night clubs and places of amusement, as in Toulouse-Lautrec or Picasso. But these have a more vigorous air, less languorous and decadent than the mordant work of the Frenchmen. They are, I believe, our only pictorial documents of the pre-war jazz age. The mottled and blurred backgrounds are familiar but handled with more control and more use of smoky, flame-like sections of paper. The colors are dark and hot, in keeping with the quality of the scene. The exaggerated whites of the negroes' eyes, the cramped gesture of the dancers and the gloomy, smoky atmosphere are all recorded with equal sensitivity. The loose pencil drawing, suggesting rapid movement into space in the lower part of the paper and becoming more nervous and flat above, contributes its share of the burden. This manner of working can be seen in the watercolor At Marshall's (Fig. 2). The integration of decorative with illustrational units makes for a very powerful effect. The immediacy of the response and the sombre, deeply felt nature of the scene, make this a watercolor that holds up as well as Expressionist works by Nolde or Schmidt-Rottluf. The amazing delineation of macabre facial types in the right distance lends a grotesque note to the scene. The exaggerated pose of the tapdancer, as the arms swing up and the feet cross, is remarkably immediate in its evocation. This spontaneity is characteristic of the Expressionist aspect of Demuth's work as contrasted with the more intellectual and measured response



Fig. 7. CHARLES DEMUTH, She Had Picked Up a Small Flat Piece of Wood Manchester, Frank C. Osborn Collection



Fig. 8. CHARLES DEMUTH, Man Lying on Grave Manchester, Frank C. Osborn Collection

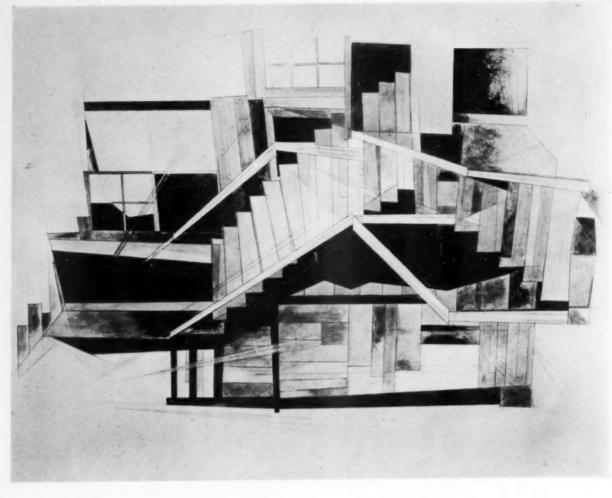


Fig. 9. CHARLES DEMUTH, Landscape Detroit, Private Collection

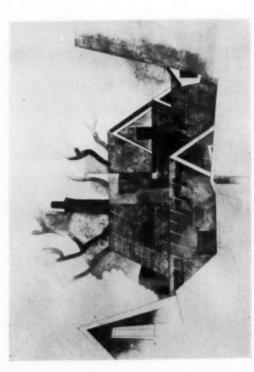


Fig. 10. CHARLES DEMUTH, Red Chimneys Washington, D. C., Phillips Memorial Gallery

Fig. 11. CHARLES DEMUTH, Stairs New York, Museum of Modern Art

in later watercolors. The mask-like quality of the face is emphasized, another macabre element which adds to the implied grotesqueness of the scene. Here the pencil work is fully subordinated to the washes of color with a blurred method predominating. The device of vistas seen through the arms and legs of the performer is unusual and is a well known phenomenon to frequenters of night clubs. It is unfortunate that this work, and the others in Merion, are so effectually hidden from view. The color must be a lurid addition to the other elements of the paper.

It is a relatively short step from these pictures of the demi-monde to illustrations for Zola's *Nana*. These pictures are the first of a series of illustrations for books of varied types.<sup>5</sup> It is unfortunate that none of these has been used for publication, for they are remarkable insights into the meaning of the works, as well as decorative units of intrinsic interest.

The Nana series uses the dark grape, maroon, brown, and black of the night club scenes but adds a vigorous loose pencil hatching beneath the wash which adds to the agitation of the representative and organizational elements. Zola's militant realism is paralleled by Demuth's desire to comment and to project an intense emotion into the illustration. In this sense, as well as in the resonance of the color, these illustrations can be profitably compared with the Expressionist watercolors. Ta Nana (Fig. 5) is the most powerful of the Nana pictures I have seen. The heavy pencil drawing and scribbled hatching gives a rich, agitated texture. The movement of color and shape is swirling, never resting in the blurs of background or in the lines searching out the significant poses of the figures. The cheap looking gold mirror is an aesthetic and psychological element in the picture. From a narrative point of view the picture shows a nude courtesan (Nana) before a mirror, her clothes hastily thrown on a chair at the left. A man in underclothes (Count Muffat) despairingly kneels before a crucifix on the floor. In the mirror is reflected the death's head features of the woman. We are presented with the naked emotion of the count as he despairingly identifies Nana with the evils destroying his society, and the woman herself oblivious to all but her body. All this is not obviously set forth, the representation of detail being subordinated to the general effect of the picture, a device common in Expressionist painting. The hot color, the agitated shapes, the narrative, all combine to produce a truly direct and immediate expression of material depravity, emotional despair and a sense of unceasing conflict and restlessness.

A second picture in the series (Fig. 6), is less intense an expression, more

akin to the previous night life works. Here the boredom of the prostitute (Nana and her companion, Satin) waiting in a cheap dive, is the illustrational concern of the work. The savage pencil textures, indicating directions of movement, as well as fan shaped texture units, are unusually prominent. This picture more than any other Demuth recalls Lautrec. The tilted perspective of table top and floor, as well as the distribution of objects on the table, in coherence with the location of figures on the floor, is perhaps more consciously arranged than in the spontaneous outburst of Ta Nana. But the communication of "blue" looks and a sour atmosphere with adequate aesthetic means mark this as another significant illustration. The more definite use of blotting in the upper right foreshadows the organized use of this method in later illustrations and circus pictures.

A series of watercolors (i.e. Eight O'Clock, The Museum of Modern Art, N. Y.) executed in 1917 are an interlude between the Zola and the James illustrations. The subject, young men arising and dressing in a disordered interior, is common to these pictures. The general air of decadence and nervousness is again to be noticed. But there is an important expansion of Demuth's technique. The pencil hatching is still present, as are the fluid, blurred areas of color. But there is an added means of variation by a methodical and complicated system of blotting. The effect can be termed crystalline in appearance, as if a sharp point, covered with cloth, had been pressed on the almost dry color in a series of regular patterned points. This pebbly, crystalline texture can then be controlled within areas, long and striated, round and indefinite, depending upon the area involved. Combined with the use of pencil and blur this represents a development towards greater complexity and diversification. The use of this blotting in large areas leads to a more delicate and fragile effect, strikingly different from the bold treatment of 1916 and 1917.

In 1918 Demuth began the illustrations for The Turn of the Screw. These are the best known of his illustrations and the union of artist and author seems to be especially happy. I have seen only two of the six. Four are in the collection of Frank C. Osborn, Esq. These are reproduced in Gallatin. The fifth illustration, not listed before, is on the New York Art Market. A sixth illustration, the first in point of time, has hitherto been unpublished: At a House on Harley Street in the Museum of Modern Art. It was listed in the Whitney Catalog as a separate work, but the picture tallies in title with a section of a line on p. 11 of the Adelphi edition of The Turn of the Screw. The room in the picture agrees with the last lines on this page: "a big house filled with the spoils of travel and

the trophies of the chase." The woman can be recognized as the governess, the man as her employer. The picture is earlier than the others for it is of the same heavy pencil style as Ta Nana and Eight O'Clock. The later works are lighter and more delicate, with a thinner pencil line and more crystalline blotting.

The early technique is well suited to the Harley Street atmosphere of the first scene with its air of splendor in the setting, and solicitude and interest in the figures. The deliberately fussy line adds to the overstuffed air of the interior. Significant details such as the stuffed birds under glass and the owlish moose heads add to this sensation. The placement of the two figures in the very close foreground serves to catch our eye while the accumulation of detail gradually creeps up on us. This subtle method is similar to the method of James in building up his air of suspense by the accumulation of sensitive psychological detail, a method which Proust used in France for his long novels of sensation, response and introspection. The early works of Demuth have none of this supercivilized reticence and introversion, but under the spell of the novel the illustrations become more and more delicate, fragmentary and reticent. This can be seen in the picture She had picked up a small flat piece of wood (Fig. 7). Much more of the paper is blank and the pencil is not heavily used, but lightly with a lacy effect. Especially well caught, in the spirit of the book, is the willful sullenness of Flora as she ignores the vision which appears to the startled governess. Only the three blurs in the upper right betray the presence of the ghostly figure.

Another of the pictures brings the four protagonists together, extremely well characterized; the bulky housekeeper, the sensitive governess, and the two children acting out their parts as creatures of sweetness and light. The crystal-line blotting is used a great deal here to procure a mottled as well as a striated texture. The sudden vista, leading to significant detail, is present in this work as well as in the other illustrational pictures. This picture is also noteworthy for its development of rising motifs in the figures and landscapes, which add a sense of unrest to the surface calmness of the scene.

The climax of the story, the scene between the governess and Miles, is presented in a more simple manner with a suppressed background of vertical angular motifs in contrast to the more closely knit arrangement of the two figures, the anguished woman and the uncertain boy, torn by the conflicting desires of loyalty and degeneracy. Here the sensitivity seems to me too delicate, too remote for the great moment in the story. The earlier of these illustrations seem to be more effective. These are not obviously ghost-like illustrations, nor

do they carry the direct impact of the *Nana* series. They are immensely subtle illustrations in a twisted, tortured manner that parallels the style of the novel. Hints are dropped, nothing is demonstrated.

Demuth's liking for James' novels led to a second series of three pictures to illustrate The Beast in the Jungle.8 In these, even more than in The Turn of the Screw, Demuth relies on the indirect glance, the momentary pause and subsequent embarrassment. The pictures are more simple and direct than the story, which is so reticent as to be almost without tangible meaning. The heavy use of pencil and color is revived and the blotting areas are decreased in size and number. Demuth found a contemporaneous outlet for this technique in other pictures of the time, for he was turning more and more away from narrative. The scene Don't you know now probes with piercing acuteness into the depiction of the embarrassed man and the uncertain woman. The dark units of the picture are confined so as to add to the "pale cast of thought"; one is more conscious of the light areas with the quavering uncertain edges of dark against light. The furniture is purposely more strong and forceful than the two humans. The final picture, the man prostrate on the woman's grave (Fig. 8), is a masterpiece in the integration of the coldly impersonal decorative treatment of the tombstones and trees as a foil for the misshapen and contorted figure of the man. The writhing character of the edges and the pathetic strung-out arrangement of hat, gloves, handkerchief and cane, is most noticeable. The utter darkness of the figure against the pale areas is directly expressive of the mood and meaning of the final part of the story. The success of these James illustrations might have been carried on in the kindred spirit of illustrations for Proust's A la Recherche du Temps Perdu, but these were never begun. Demuth's choice of books to be illustrated was particularly fortunate.

It should be remembered that these illustrations were not plucked from the written narrative only, but were built up out of many slight sketches from direct experience. In these, the flowing pencil line of 1912 is continued as is the pale wash of color. These instruments are buttressed by a greater use of the blur and the blot. The picture in question, like most of the work of this time, is subtly suggestive in its design and representation. This is not obvious eroticism, but rather the type which becomes so veiled and meaningful in the hands of a James or a Proust. Demuth would probably never have illustrated the lusty exuberance of Joyce.

During these years Demuth had applied his developed technique to a series of watercolors concerned with circus and vaudeville scenes. On the whole

these pictures, in contrast to the illustrations, are primarily of interest for their qualities of formal organization rather than for any illustrational or psychological significance. They tend to be more rigidly organized with a more systematic and arbitrary employment of blotting and pooling. In those that I have seen the heavy pencil work is not so evident as in the pictures just considered. Here stresses and strains, repetitions, contrasts and plane recessions make up the structure of the picture. In this sense they are more abstract than the others and hence lead directly to the cubist period of Demuth's work.<sup>10</sup>

As early as 1916 Demuth was interested in the design opportunities offered by the sharp silhouettes of performers in the spotlight before a curtain. The movement and quivering of the spotlight is well defined by the crinkly and nervous edge in Demuth's pencil drawing. The movement into shallow space is often accompanied by recessive elliptical planes, a method that he carries over in his later still lifes. The tensile strength of the figures in their strained actions is achieved by both a sinuous edge and a systematic system of blotting that add a subtle buttress to the other elements. One never finds an obvious strength in this man's work; but the power is there, achieved by deliberate understatement. Acrobats (Fig. 4) is a lighter, more delicate version of this theme. The division of the picture into circular, elliptical and indeterminate vistas of varying opacity is especially noteworthy. The crinkled, blotted edges function as designations of the transitional penumbra between shadow and light. This nervous, quivering movement is continued throughout the picture, particularly on the edges of arcs and ellipses that go to make up most of the form of the work.

Others of this group develop the blotting technique until it becomes a major factor in the organization of the picture. By varying the weight and complexity of the striated texture, Demuth is able to make the tilted ground planes undulate and move in a non-static manner appropriate to the sweeping movements of the climactic unit. The illustrational power is still present.

In Vaudeville, in the Barnes Collection (Fig. 3) which I have not seen, is important as a static composition of great strength and weight combined with an indication of soaring movement. In the former respect it is akin, in a less substantial way, to the Bather pictures of Cézanne. Elliptical planes and shapes are prominent here, but they are interlocked and buttressed by angular and rectangular forms. These more solid shapes are picked up in the figures, giving them the same static effect. This is the function of the seemingly artificial pose of the man on the right. The general symmetry of the organization is an aid

to the effect of the picture. The space is shallow and enclosed, but made less so by the variations induced through patterned and shaped blotting in a manner related to the "swirling form" of Castagno's enclosed space.

Coincidental with the illustrations and the circus pictures (1918-1919) we have a large number of landscapes and flower pictures by Demuth. These works, in general, move from more curvilinear, organic forms towards more abstract and geometric types. This development can be attributed to his growing interest in cubism and more abstract statements of pictorial form. Like Marin, however, Demuth never loses contact with his representational elements. In these works the same thin washes, from dark raspberry to light tan, the same crystalline blotting, and the same swirling movement that we have seen before can be found.

A very close parallel, however direct or indirect, exists between Demuth's nature abstractions and the plant photographs by Blossfeldt. Demuth seems to move from these organic abstractions of nature towards more arbitrary man-made abstract forms. As early as 1916 Demuth painted a landscape which uses these rolling, interweaving planes. 12 These interlock in moderately shallow space to form trees and branches. Curved areas are repeated in an arbitrary symbolization of shallow space. The solid forms of the picture are concentrated in the center of the paper and the farther the distance from the center, the more blank paper is to be found. This creates a single form in the picture composed of many interweaving parts. These organic, interlocking forms, defined by color as well as line, are carried over into the early flower pictures. 13 The strength and organization of this type is directly comparable to that of the landscapes. The later flower pictures may be considered more delicate, more naturalistic and less ordered. In the Flowers of 1918 in the Metropolitan Museum we notice a new element, unusual in Demuth's work. By means of color and tone he tilts four separate sections of the picture into separate vistas which recall Marin's more obvious "enclosure forms." Demuth, always more of an introvert than Marin, naturally turns to less direct methods.

Coincidental with arbitrary, rather flat, cubistic paintings in oil and tempera, 1917 produced aquarelle works from Bermuda, Provincetown and Lancaster that have a more balanced proportion of organic and geometric shapes. In these we find a range from the complex, crowded forms to the spare, austere organization of Landscape (Fig. 9). These pictures are characterized by a generally similar organization; angular building shapes seen through and in relation to curving, volumetric tree forms in the foreground. Space is shallow and is

bound at the rear by the delicate planes of the sky. Linear and flat shapes predominate in the latter picture. The crystalline blots are used to a great extent, but more for the purpose of shading for volume in the foreground, and plane placement behind. The whole method of balanced planes and volumes indicated by washes of color is analagous to the late watercolors of Cézanne, but the latter's work is more vigorous in stress and tension, more sure in placement, and less prim or even "fussy" in handling.

A similar handling of planes and volumes (but more slight), can be seen in one of the great early flower pieces, *Daisies* of 1918 (Whitney Museum). <sup>14</sup> Here the placement is even more delicate with an unusually fine treatment of vague background planes in varying depths. The edges of the picture, as in some of the earlier landscapes, are less definite and appear to go deeper into

space.

At the end of 1917 and in 1918 the angular forms begin to predominate in the landscapes. These shapes are broken up even more than usual by continuing lines and angles. This development can be seen in extreme form in the oil and tempera pictures. Red Chimneys in the Phillips Memorial Gallery (Fig. 10) shows this trend in unusually clear terms. The curvilinear foliage shapes are present in pencil form but they have not been defined by color. The result is a preponderance of angular-textured roof forms and chimneys. The angular inner frame for the lower part of the picture acts as a large angular unit in the whole picture, an effect to be seen in some of Marin's ship pictures.

These landscapes, with the narrative and circus pictures, are of immense importance in any critical estimation of Demuth's worth. In theme we see an ordered, classical concept of nature, less vigorous and tense than Cézanne's but certainly comparable. They are austere products of the intellect, fortified by the sensuous element of color. As such they are of great importance in modern art, and should be considered equally with the work of men such as Braque, Gris, Ozenfant, Feininger, Klee and Picasso.

The logical end of this search for geometric organizations of nature and architecture would be in the modern mechanical forms of industry and architecture. Sheeler has continued in this direction. Demuth assayed it many times in oil and tempera, but seldom in watercolor. The few works that we do have in the medium seem to me to be of superior quality and interest than the less complex and technically limited works in the other mediums. Those executed in watercolor seem to have been done mostly in 1920 and 1921.

The industrial scene<sup>15</sup> is handled with the straight edge and the compass. The representative forms are simplified and projected into a world of pure, simple planes and shapes. Crystalline blotting is used only in the crisply curved smoke forms. Like many of Demuth's earlier works the vistas are very important: vertical shapes in the foreground through which are seen the smaller receding planes in moderate space. The delicacy and variation inherent in the medium are subordinated to the shape organization of the picture. Color is used as a fill for bounded areas. On the whole this picture relates more definitely with the stylized work of Sheeler rather than a constructed abstraction of mechanical forms as in Legér.

A second picture (Fig. 11) is more successful in this respect. Early American staircases are splendid beginnings for the study of shifting and twisting directions made up of geometric shapes, as Sheeler has so well demonstrated in his oils. The use of the ruler for this type of work is common to both men. Here the planes progressively twist into new directions, while cut by the geometric extensions of bannister and window units. Color and blotting are limited to filling-in roles, though the blotting serves for recession and for the statement of intermediate transactions from dark to light. The general organization is based on an irregular twisting projection of the geometric staircase into space from the relatively flat background of boards, windows and shadow. Demuth again relates this unit to the edge and plane of the paper by a gradual fade-off of activity towards the edges of the picture. This device becomes practically constant from now on.

In 1930, after a decade of still life and flower pictures, Demuth returned to figures and incorporated the crisp, blank paper technique of this decade with the newly revived subject matter. With this return to illustration and figures we find a regression to an extended use of the pencil; hatching, scribbling, etc., but in a more controlled and restrained way than in 1916-1919. Striated blotting, giving a tiger stripe effect also returns in one instance. The pictures, especially the Provincetown beach scenes, seem more rigidly and statically organized than the early Expressionist papers. This fact makes these late works of interest as developed examples of Demuth's more obvious organizational capacities, as seen in the late still life and flower pictures, applied to figurative subject matter. They are his last pictures; the labor involved in producing them must have been tremendous for a sick man. In contrast to the bulk of his previous output, these pictures do not "breathe easily."

The one illustrative watercolor (Fig. 13) is a prime example of Demuth's

ability to hold a heavily asymmetric composition together. This is accomplished principally by the curve of the Brancusi statue, the binding horizontal of the dado, the large blank area in the upper right, and the comparatively complex representational development of the woman's figure. The horizontal striations are another unit in the total form. Representationally, the old quality is there but in a harder, more careful conformation. The strong, supple drawing of the sailor and the more broken, effeminate and slighter delineation of the fop is carefully differentiated. The casual downward glance of the other man is a fine bit, perhaps loaded with meaning if we knew the text. But on the whole this work, despite particular regressions, takes its place with the aesthetically developed pictures of the late 1920's. Texture, weight, shallow space and shape organization are of principal interest in this primarily architectural and reasoned style.

This becomes more apparent in the bathing scenes. Where Prendergast saw receding flats of mosaic-like color in a rich and sensuous way, Demuth saw interesting organic shapes, reinforced by color and tone against the distant horizontal sea or against well marked recessions on pier or dock. These things are arranged, not in Prendergast's classical system, but in startling asymmetric arrangements. This tendency, apparent in 1930, continued even to the extent of loss in representational significance. Thus we find figures drawn in pencil, but left blank of color in order to fulfill the asymmetric functions of the form (Fig. 12). The saturated oranges and blue-blacks of the picture add decidedly to the plastic effect. This is also carried out in the drawing by emphasis on the big rounded masses of the woman's buttocks, legs, and shoulders.

Demuth's watercolors are of great importance in modern art history. Like Marin, Demuth devoted most of his efforts to the watercolor medium, and in that method he produced works that take their place with the architectonic watercolors of Cézanne, the abstract works of Braque and Ozenfant, and the Expressionist figure pieces of Nolde, or the early Toulouse-Lautrec. Like Marin, Demuth has demonstrated the importance and seriousness of the aquarelle medium for significant work outside the more prominent and crowded field of reporting and recording of light and visual appearance.

Demuth's early contribution lay in his ability to invest the vibrant color and outward forms of Expressionism with the tortured subtleties of a sensitive and sophisticated mind. Tentative outlines, ever searching for the final delineation, seem to express the gropings of his mind towards his selected goal; while the

vibrant color attests to the certainty of his emotion. With maturity his mind gains the upper hand and one feels the change in the severity of the outlines and in the chastened color. The gropings are replaced by a serene, delicate and subtle sense of the shapes and placements of nature's forms. This later approach is perhaps best described by Wordsworth's particular definition of poetry "... emotion recollected in tranquillity."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The most concise and useful biography is that by Henry McBride which can be found in the catalog Charles Demuth, New York, The Whitney Museum of American Art, 1937. Other material, including reproductions, is available in: Murrell, William, Charles Demuth, New York, the Whitney Museum of American Art; Gallatin, Albert E., Charles Demuth, New York, William Edwin Rudge, 1927.

<sup>a</sup> This is reported by everyone who knew him. My information came from Mrs. Edith G. Halpert.

<sup>a</sup> From Mt. Giboa, c. 1914 Art Market, New York; Landscape, Etretat, c. 1914 Art Market, New York.

<sup>a</sup> Anal Fish and Marmed 6, 1916 Art Market, New York.

Angel Fish and Mermaid, c. 1916 Art Market, New York. McBride, in Charles Demuth, op. cit., lists the illustrations: 1 for McAlmon's Distinguished Air, 1930.

<sup>2</sup> for Zola's Nana, 1916.

<sup>1</sup> for Zola's L'Assommoir, 1916.

<sup>1</sup> for Balzac's The Girl with the Golden Eyes, c. 1916.

<sup>1</sup> for Poe's Mask of the Red Death, c. 1916. for Wedekind's Erdgeist, c. 1917

<sup>3</sup> for James' Beast in the Jungle, 1919.
4 for James' Turn of the Screw, 1918, 1919, to which should be added one already known and one hitherto unpublished. (See following pages.)

The Nana series and the Erdgeist must be similar, for the subject is the same, decadence, sensuality and the

demi-monde. The choice of subject at this time (1916) places Demuth with other men who turned to dregs and realism as antidotes against the times

At Laura's, 1916, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

possible that other scenes exist.

See for example: Erotic Scene: Two Half Nudes, 1917, Art Market, New York. These sketches are not to be confused with the finished "sketchiness" of the illustrations.

A. C. Barnes, The Art in Painting, pp. 345-346 has a good concise amount of Demuth's form, especially in relation to these pictures.

See Ibid, on Castagno. 12 Trees No. 1, 1916, Art Market, New York.

These paintings, many of them reproduced in Murrel, op. cit., were executed under the direct influence of Sheeler as well as the cubists. They are much tighter and less varied than the watercolors. Demuth must have

felt, mistakenly I believe, that he could get more strength in the heavier medium.

<sup>24</sup> Reproduced in Murrell, op. cis., p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> End of the Parade, 1920, reproduced in Murrell, op. cis., p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> This can hardly be unfinished as Demuth did not work part by part in a still life manner. This blank method is probably an extension of the blank pencil-drawn shapes mentioned in connection with the late pictures of the

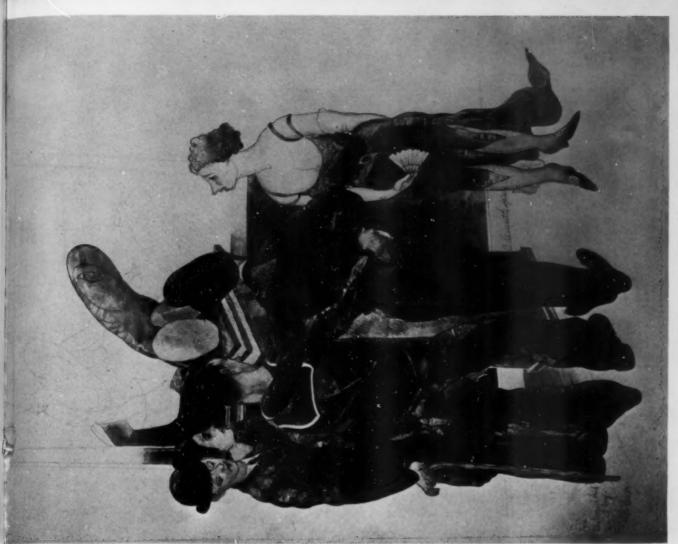




Fig. 12. CHARLES DEMUTH, Bathers on a Dock Detroit, Private Collection

Fig. 13. CHARLES DEMUTH, For "Distinguished Air" New York Art Market

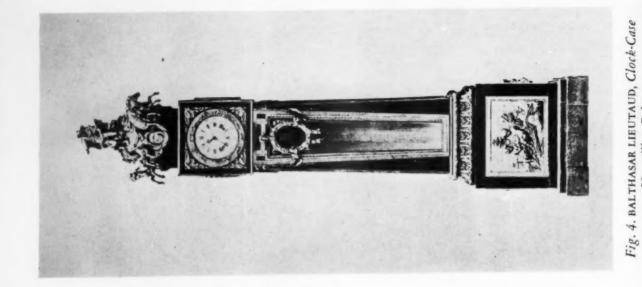




Fig. 2. BALTHASAR LIEUTAUD, Clock-Case Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

Fig. 1. BALTHASAR LIEUTAUD, Clock-Case Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 3. Base of Clock-Case Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

Versailles, Palace

# , Falace

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

## A LOUIS XVI CLOCK-CASE BY BALTHASAR LIEUTAUD By MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

N Paris from the middle until the end of the eighteenth century one of the great attractions for tourists were the shops of the clock-makers. In fact from his youth Louis XVI, too, was interested in the mechanical parts of clocks and Marie Antoinette owned a large number of clocks, reflecting, and probably stimulating also, the general interest of the public in clocks. In consequence of this interest the greatest care was lavished upon the clock-cases which are oftentimes among some of the most sumptuous and beautiful ever designed.

Balthasar Lieutaud,¹ cousin of a watchmaker of the same name, is numbered among the designers of distinguished clock-cases in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The son of a furniture maker, he took up the profession of his father and became a master on March 20th, 1749, specializing in clock-cases. His cases are made of fine woods, often of ebony, and decorated with the gilded bronze so popular at the time. Salverte says he was aided by Caffieri the Younger, Grimpelle and Edme Roye in the gilded bronze work. He lived on the rue de la Pelletierie for a time, later moving to the rue d'Enfer. There he died in 1780, leaving his business to be administered by his widow, as was the custom in the Paris guilds.

The clock-cases so far recorded by Lieutaud are all standing ones. They may be seen at Versailles (Fig. 4), in the Victoria and Albert Museum,2 in the Wallace Collection,3 in several private collections,4 while one was sold by the Russian government in Berlin in 1927.5 They are all made in beautiful woods and mounted in gilded bronze and stamped with his name in capitals, B. LIEUTAUD, underneath. The earliest in style seems to be the one sold in Berlin by the Russians. It has a figure of Father Time on the top, "Le tems a pris un corps et marche sous nos yeux," as expressed in an aphorism by Delille that was used on a medal awarded to students at the school for clock-makers in Versailles. The bronze scroll work has the beautiful graceful rococo curves of the Louis XV period. Slightly less rococo is a case that was formerly in the Lesrel collection in Paris. The standing case in the Wallace Collection in London is much more subdued in design with severer outlines that indicate the style called Louis XVI although it really originated towards the end of Louis XV's reign as a reaction against the rococo exhuberances that had been popular in the middle of the century. Yet even here the departure from the rococo has

not been complete. Like the Wallace Collection case the regulator formerly in the Wertheimer and the Prince Paar of Austria Collections is surmounted by an urn on the top. It is even more severe in its restraint and seems to be in the full-blown Louis XVI style.

A clock-case by Lieutaud in the Walters Art Gallery (Figs. 1 and 2) 8 seems to follow directly after the last two and is even more in the Louis XVI style than either of these. It is unusual in that it is the only one mentioned in literature that is a mantel-clock; all the others are standing. It is fine, chastely dignified, combining in a splendid manner ebony wood with patinated and gilded bronze. The lower portion is formed like a sawed-off column, complete with base, and draped with a fringed cloth in bronze that lifts to give access to the key-holes for winding while a panel at the back lifts out, exposing the mechanical parts. The channeled portion of the column is patinated with a brown lacquer while the rest of the bronze work is skilfully gilded. About the base are four gilded bronze plaquettes, each with a putto reclining among rocks, all the same design but all finished by hand with consequent variations. On the column rests an urn that suggests the designs current at the time and generally associated with the name of Delafosse<sup>7</sup> whose decorative prints were utilized by a number of furniture makers, as they were intended to be. The bowl of the urn is also patinated in brown lacquer while the rest is gilded. The dial consists of two revolving bands, one for the hours and one for the minutes, while a coiled serpent pointing with his fangs takes the place of the usual hands on a clock, a fantasy frequent among French eighteenth century clocks. The works are by Gudin, a well-known clock-maker in Paris at that time.

The Walters clock-case offers an excellent example of the co-operation that went into the making of a sumptuous piece of furniture in eighteenth century France, a period in which the making of both the mechanical parts of clocks and of the cases was carried to a very high degree of perfection. The works in this instance were made by a skilled master in the clock-makers guild, well known in his day, Jean Gérome Gudin<sup>8</sup> of the quai des Orfèvres. The design formed of a column with a neo-classic urn might easily have been taken from one of a number of pattern books current at the time, the most familiar being the prints done after Delafosse's designs. The bronze work, the gilding and chasing are doubtless the handicraft of one of those skilled in these arts (Fig. 3). Salverte mentions several chasers and gilders who might have collaborated with Lieutaud but with our present lamentable lack of knowledge of their work it is impossible to attribute the fine work in this instance to any one of

them. All these people were called in to collaborate on the making of a single clock, while the whole conception was due to Lieutaud whose name is stamped underneath in the wood.

Since the cases mentioned are all signed by the same man (and the works are all apparently by different makers) we must assume that Lieutaud was always the one to conceive the clock-cases as a whole, to bring the ideas and work of the others together and to harmonize what they did into one beautiful and pleasing whole. It was he who put his name to the finished creation and was considered worthy of having his name recorded most conspicuously on each clock-case. Thus we see the collaboration that went into the creation of a single piece of furniture, a type of collaboration that we would rarely think of today but one that was eminently suited to a period of really great craftsmanship and one in which the making of fine furniture was made into an art.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> François de Salverte, Les ébénistes du XVIII<sup>o</sup> siècle, Paris, 1923, p. 202; Thieme-Becker, Kunstlerlexikon, Leipzig, 1929, XXIII; J. F. Britten, Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers, London, 1904, p. 187; H. Vial, A. Marcel and A. Girodie, Les artistes décorateurs du bois, Paris, 1912, I, p. 316.
<sup>a</sup> Oliver Brackett, Catalogue of the Jones Collection, London, 1930, I, No. 23, pl. 14.
<sup>a</sup> D. S. MacColl, "French Eighteenth Century Furniture in the Wallace Collection," Burlington Magazine, XLI

<sup>(1922),</sup> p. 265.

Charles J. Wertheimer Sale, London, May 8-9, 1912, No. 113; Lesrel Sale, Paris, May 22, 1907. Another is mentioned as having been in the collection of Madame de Saint-Georges in Paris. A pedestal by Lieutaud was in the collection of Madame Lelong, sold in Paris, 1903, No. 1349.

F (alke), in Pantheon, III (1929), p. 292, Fig. p. 293.

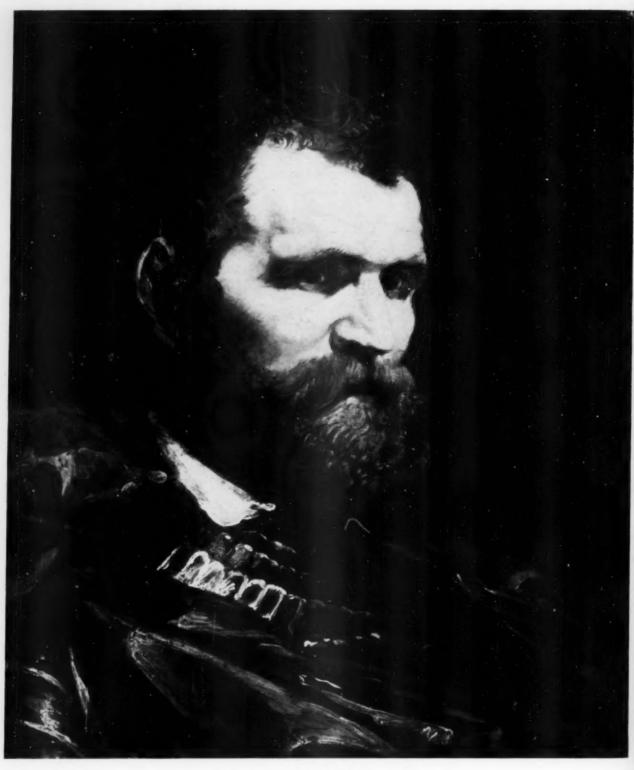
No. 58.236. H. 201/g". From the Sir Richard Wallace and Sir John Murray Scott Collections.

L'oeuvre de Delajosse, Paris, 1920 (?).

<sup>\*</sup>Another clock by Gudin was in the collection of Mrs. Henry Walters, sold New York, April 23-26, 1941, No. 689.



# RECENT IMPORTANT ACQUISITIONS OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



PETER PAUL RUBENS, A Man in Armor Glens Falls, N. Y. Mrs. Louis F. Hyde Collection



CARAVAGGIO, Portrait of a Lady (31½" x 25½") San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery





JEAN-BAPTISTE COROT, Forest of Fontainebleau (681/4" x 941/4")
Washington, D. C. National Gallery of Art



CLAUDE LORRAIN AND PIETER VAN LAER, Blind Man's Buff (31" x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ ")

The Detroit Institute of Arts

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### THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

#### RUBENS "MAN IN ARMOR"

By Joseph J. Dodge

A portrait by Peter Paul Rubens (Antwerp, 1577-1640) called A Man in Armor has recently been added to the collection of Mrs. Louis F. Hyde of Glens Falls, New York.

It represents a mature warrior of noble bearing dressed in the armor of the time and wrapped in a red cloak. His deep-set eyes look intently at some point to the right of the spectator. His head is covered with brown, curly hair and a beard; his flesh has the character and the color of a man of action; and his pose expresses both power and intelligence.

The portrait was undoubtedly executed when Rubens had reached his full powers as a painter—that is, after his return to Antwerp from Italy at the end of 1608, probably around 1615. It does not seem to be a representation of any particular individual for his own sake but rather, as Ludwig Burchard pointed out in a discussion of another version of the same subject in an unnamed German collection ("Alcuni dipinti del Rubens nel suo Periodo italiano," Pinacotheca, July-August, 1928, illustrated) it is probably a picturization of some classical hero possibly Hannibal. On the other hand, the source cannot have been one of Rubens' standard models because the same face does not appear in any of his other compositions. True, bearded men in armor are plentiful, but none have the deep-set eyes and the peculiar modeling around the temples so prominent in this portrait. Furthermore, if it had been a portrait of a particular person, there probably would have been some record of the fact as the picture was engraved in mezzotint around 1770, at a time when important families had not as yet been broken up and when such things were kept track of. In fact, the picture has been known ever since that time-and undoubtedly before -having been in Paris up to 1791 and in England since then without having acquired a more specific title. The same ambiguity surrounds the Burchard version.

A very interesting problem arises in connection with this other version, a problem which cannot be definitely solved without seeing them both. The other portrait is of the same man, in the same pose, and with the same accoutrements. It is, however, larger than Mrs. Hyde's picture and includes the figure's right arm and hand which is encased in armor and which bends at the elbow so that it points toward the lower right-hand corner. Mr. Burchard attributed this larger version to Rubens in his Italian period (1601-1608) before he knew of Mrs. Hyde's example, which he later endorsed. But Mrs. Hyde's portrait was done at least five years after the Italian period so that it cannot be a study for the larger picture. It is unlikely that Rubens would execute two versions of the same anonymous subject, especially when the second is smaller in size and freer in handling. To substantiate this opinion is the tremendous difference in style, technique, and feeling between the two, apparent even in photographs of the Burchard picture. Mrs. Hyde's is sketchier — almost impressionistic in handling; the other is stiff and unimaginative. Mrs. Hyde's is full of trength and vitality, of the play of lights, shadows, and intense

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reflected lights, of the thin, transparent glazes contrasted with concepdirectly applied accents of opaque pigment; while the other has a more Caravaggiesque light and dark relationship, a more even paint surface of thick impasto. Mrs. Hyde's has free, ex. pressive brush strokes—a virtuosity that gives the effect that i was done in one sitting; whereas the other has the heavy, overworked, and mechanical quality of a copy with little or no organization in the brush strokes. As a result, then, it would be the almost inevitable conclusion that the portrait in Glen Falls is the original while the one in Germany is a copy, slightly elaborated, by an Italian, who may well have been a pupil of Rubens, a visitor, or a painter who copied it in Italy where it had been sent by Rubens to one of his many patrons. It may also be that they are both copies — Mrs. Hyde's by Rubens, the other by someone else-of a third, unknown picture possibly by Titian or Tintoretto; or Mrs. Hyde's may be a study for a larger portrait, now lost, of which the Burchard version is an Italian

Whatever the solution, the Man in Armor in Glens Falls in an outstanding expression not only of the artist but also of th first part of the Baroque period. It is of Rubens because of the life and vitality in the representation, because of the handling of light to indicate form and character, because of the sensuli love of skin, flesh, and material, and because of the amazing virtuosity of execution. It is of the Baroque for those qualities of Rubens, who inaugurated that style in Northern Europe, at well as for the dramatic contrasts of light and shadow, the tension of the pose, the movement of forms, the three-dimensional arrangement uncontained by the frame of the picture, the general dynamic restlessness of both mind and body, and the unity of conception.

#### THE CARAVAGGIO PORTRAIT IN SAN DIEGO

There are few personalities in European painting since the Renaissance so important as Caravaggio in determining the direction which the line of artistic creation was to follow. His art stands at the opening of the seventeenth century like a head land beyond which the coast of a new portion of the continen moves off in a new direction. One cannot say that his portrait exercised the same influence as his other compositions upon his contemporaries; but they, too, form an essential element, of his genius. Indeed, the rediscovery of his portraits in rathe recent times has somewhat altered and enlarged the prevailing

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with conception of his art. Thus far no more than half a dozen of other his portraits have been found, of which only the Alof de Wignacourt, in the Louvre and the Portrait of a Young Woman (probably Caterina Campani) in Berlin were outside of Italy. It is an event of interest to American students, therefore, that the Portrait of a Lady which was exhibited at the New York or no World's Fair of 1940 has found a permanent home in this would country at San Diego.

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This portrait is part of the opening phase of Caravaggio's naturalism, closely linked in style with the Bacchus in the Uffizi, the Lute Player in the Hermitage, and the Caterina Campani in Berlin, all of his earliest period. Voss, who first published it in the Burlington Magazine (October, 1927) considers it even earlier than the woman's portrait in Berlin.

The massive vitality and dramatic use of light in this portrait show that the young artist had already found the path he wished to follow. But the monumental style, with its architectonic severity of modeling, show with what reserve the term "naturalism" is to be used in connection with Caravaggio. His sense of form would in a Dutch painter seem the extreme of stylization. His aim was, as one can see in this picture, to catch ndling the dramatic vitality of life, which had been lost in the empty elegance of mannerism; but he achieved this in a style that has the simple grandeur of all great Italian art. In his study of the subject he has caught also the strange mingling of the cultivated and the primitive which is one of the most interesting qualities of the Italian.

E. P. R.

### THE ROUSSEAU DE LA ROTTIERE ROOM IN CLEVELAND

From a news release

The new Rousseau de la Rottiere Room, given to the Cleveland Museum of Art by Grace Rainey Rogers of New York in memory of her father, the late William J. Rainey, was designed by Jean-Simeon Rousseau de la Rottiere, who also did the apartments of Queen Marie Antoinette and the Boudoir of Madame Serilly, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Composed of painted panels and doors, with a marble mantle and gilt framed mirror, the room, 19' by 19'8", is complete to the parquetry floor. Gilded chairs and settees, upholstered in original tapestries depicting fables of LaFontaine, tables and stands, are included. There are two priceless Persian rugs, candelabra and andirons. Sculpture is by Augustin Pajou and Claude Michel, called "Clodion," and the paintings are by Jean-Honoré Fragonard and Corneille de Lyon.

The Room is said to have been originally a part of the Paris hotel of the Abbe Joseph-Marie Terray, Louis XV's Controller of Finance, whose budgetary juggling was a contributing cause of the French Revolution.

Though it is chronologically Louis XV, it belongs to the style of Louis XVI, and illustrates how the earlier rococo style became influenced by the classical when Herculaneum and Pompeii were excavated from their ashes in the first half of

the eighteenth century. The chateau at Louveciennes, done tor Madame DuBarry, actually launched the mode of Louis XVI.

One of the most remarkable pieces in the room is the escritoire in marquetrie de paille, straw marquetry. There are few existing pieces in this remarkable sort of furniture, in which colored straw achieves designs similar to wood marquetry, but in jewel-like colors. This piece, in perfect condition, however, is in more truly the Louis XV style, following Chinese fashion set when Louis XIV, on January 7, 1700, gave a great ball at Marly, entitled LeRoi de la Chine.

#### FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU BY COROT

From a news release

The Forest of Fontainebleau by Corot is one of a group of important nineteenth century French paintings from the Chester Dale collection, now on indefinite loan in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

Robaut has stated that this painting was exhibited either at the Salon of 1831 or of 1834, probably at the former, the first held after Corot's return from Italy. It is one of the first deliberate, formal compositions that Corot painted for exhibition, and also one of his earliest forest scenes. The painting always held a high position in the artist's own estimate of his work, and toward the end of his life Corot tried unsuccessfully to buy back the picture from its owner, M. Binant, in order to present it to the Louvre.



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#### AN EARLY WORK BY CLAUDE LORRAIN

From an article by W. R. Valentiner in the *Bulletin* of The Detroit Institute of Arts, April, 1942

Thanks to the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reichhold, the museum has acquired a fascinating Blind Man's Buff which can be said with great probability to be the combined work of Claude Lorrain and the excellent Dutch genre painter, Pieter van Laer. It is well known that Claude Lorrain employed other artists to paint the figures in his landscapes. Although he studied figure drawing as well as landscape he never became a good figure painter and, being self-critical enough to be aware of his weakness he used the help of other painters who had a special gift for painting figures in small size.

We are well informed of the history of Claude's early life. We know that he was born at Champagne in Lorraine in 1600, came to Italy about 1613 and was soon employed by Agostino Tassi, an artist who specialized in decorative wall painting. He is mentioned in a document as Tassi's assistant in 1613 in doing some frescoes at Bagnaia. We learn from another source that he probably worked two years with another decorative painter in Naples, that he went back to Rome and returned to Lorraine in 1625 for two years. From 1627 on he was in Rome again, where he stayed the rest of his life until 1682. In the workshop of Tassi, in his independent work before 1625, and even after his return to Rome in 1627 Claude painted decontions in Roman palaces, doing imaginative landscape compositions of which none seems to have survived. As Tassi was a pupil of Paul Bril, the famous Flemish painter who was out

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of the first to paint decorative landscape frescoes in Rome, Claude's historians are generally of the opinion that, if early pictures by him should be found, they would probably show the influence of Bril's rather conventional and theatrical style. Our painting, with its trees of simplified forms arranged somewhat like stage scenery, in cool, bluish-green tints reminding one of the fresco colors of Bril, conforms with this suggestion. However, this is not the only reason why we believe it to be by Claude Lorrain.

Our painting, whose superior qualities no one has ever questioned, has been a puzzle to art critics for some time. In fact, it was one of the anonymous paintings exhibited recently in a New York exhibition called "Paintings in search of an author." It was then attributed tentatively to the Spanish school, but when acquired by the museum it was called "unknown Italian school of the seventeenth century." If we now claim it to be the combined work of a French and a Dutch artist, those who are suspicious of the value of "attributions" may feel occasion for scepticism.

It should be remembered, however, that there are periods in art history when artists of different countries were in such close contact that it is not easy to recognize their normally obvious national characteristics. Our painting originated at such a period. It can be proved that it was painted at Rome about 1625-30. It was therefore produced in an artistic milieu composed of artists from all countries working in close connection one with another in the development of a new classic conception in landscape art. The German painter Elsheimer, the Flemish Paul Bril, the Dutch genre and landscape artists Breenberg and Poelenburg were the first prominent foreigners active in Rome at this transition period. They were followed by a great number of artists among whom the best known are Leonard Braemer, Pieter van Laer, Joachim Sandrart, Claude Lorrain, Gasper Dughet, Nicholas Poussin and, last but not least, Velasquez, who made his first journey to Rome in 1630 when he painted the two enchanting plein-air views in the garden of the Villa d'Este.

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If our painting was thought to be Spanish, it was obviously for the extraneous reason of the costumes of the party playing blind man's buff in the foreground, especially of the two spectator couples. The ladies with wide skirts, the men with tied stockings, bows on their shoes and short black mantles, are

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known to everyone from the portraits of the Spanish court painted by Velasquez and his school. But these costumes were also worn in Italy, especially in the South where the Spanish influence was strong. In fact, we find them with slight variations all over Western Europe among the aristocracy of this period, as we learn from Callot's etchings *La Noblesse*; the date of the latter series (1622-25) helps us in determining the date of our painting.

The proof that our picture was executed in or near Rome lies in the canvas and the subject. The peculiarly-woven rough canvas, showing small raised squares between the threads can be found, although not too frequently, in Roman paintings of this period; Ribera and Salvator Rosa used it, for instance, and occasionally other artists active in Rome.

The character of trees—oaks, olives and cypresses—and the parkway decorated with classical statues point to a place near one of the many villas in or near Rome, where Claude Lorrain was fond of making his studies. But could the landscape have been painted by an Italian or a Dutch artist? Style, color and technique speak against it. The Italians from Agostino Caracci to Salvator Rosa give to their landscapes a more monumental and heroic character. They do not individualize the types of trees or represent so realistically the play of light and shadow; besides, they lack the intimacy of feeling so pronounced in our composition, which gives the park view almost the character of an interior, and speaks for a northern. On the other hand, the Dutch landscape painters who received their inspiration in Italy, like Both, Hackaert and Moucheron, are more minute in

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touch and do not outline the trees in such broad masses, while on the other hand they developed their compositions in warm colden tones quite different from the cool fresco-like color of

From such considerations also, it seems likely that a French landscape painter of classical tendency should be the creator of our picture. That it could only be Claude is proved by a careful comparison especially with his early drawings. The rhythmic division of sunlight and shadow, the fine atmospheric gradations towards the depth, the pleasure taken in twisted trees and old oaks covered with ivy, and lastly, some passages of leaf forms which (as Hind says of his early drawings) reminds us more of cauliflower than of leaves-all these characteristics can be found in many of his works. It is true, the composition is unusual among the paintings of Claude. But if we look through the Liber Veritatis we find a drawing which gives a similar motive and it is obviously a study of our picture. It differs from the painted composition no more than many other drawings in the Liber Veritatis from the well-known paintings for which they were studies.

The drawing is without figures which suggests that in the paintings the figures are not by Claude's hand. A careful study of the technique makes this certain. The artist of the "staffage" added even the statue upon its broad base at the turn of the road which is included in the drawing.

The figures, however, are introduced with so much skill that at a first glance no one would suspect another hand. In proportion they fit perfectly into the space and their vivid colors enhance the composition considerably. The lively red dress of the lady in the foreground forms an excellent contrast to the bluish tones of the trees, and the strong blue and green dress and red shoes of the pretty girl who tries to escape from the blindfolded woman, are in themselves a delightful harmony. There can be hardly any doubt, as Mr. Richardson first discovered, that the painter of the figures is Pieter van Laer, that strange Dutch painter who was called "Bamboccio" and who created a special type of genre painting in Italy, named after him bambocciate.

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We know that Claude and Pieter van Laer were well acs can quainted. Sandrart speaks of an excursion he made with both of them to Tivoli. They lived after 1628 a few houses from one another in the same street. Although the early documents do not mention that Van Laer painted "staffage" in Claude's

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landscapes later catalogue descriptions have often mentioned their names together—too frequently in fact, since the figures in Claude's landscapes in the style of Van Laer are usually by his follower, Jan Miel, who never reached the level of Van Laer's art. In few of Claude's paintings do the figures play so successful a part as here; so that we do not know to whom more praise should be given in this happily combined creation—to the Frenchman or the Dutchman.

Pieter van Laer lived, according to Sandrart, sixteen years in Rome. As we know that he left the town in 1639, his arrival should fall in the year 1623. His last biographer, however, tries to show that this did not take place until 1625 or early 1626. If this is correct, it is more likely that Claude collaborated with him upon the present picture in 1627 or 1628, after Claude returned to Rome from his journey of 1625-26 to Lorraine. The probability is in any case that the collaboration took place either in 1625 or 1627.

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# Conservation of Scholarly Journals

The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the cooperation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.